



Daily Report

East Europe

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Tuesday
24 December 1991

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Foreign Ministers Attend NATO Meeting in Brussels

LD2112103591 Warsaw PAP in English
1053 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Brussels, Dec. 20—Foreign ministers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are taking part in a meeting of the NATO Cooperation Council which started in Brussels Friday morning.

The meeting is also attended by the Soviet ambassador to Brussels.

Ganev Speaks at Council Meeting

AU2012184591 Sofia BTA in English
1625 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Paul Montgomery]

[Text] Brussels, December 20 (BTA)—After participating in the first historic meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council today, Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said, "I am leaving Brussels with greater hope, and at the same time with a feeling of greater security."

Mr. Ganev presented Bulgaria's position on Balkan and world affairs to the assembled foreign ministers, and said his position had been well received. He stressed Bulgaria's willingness to participate in all the work of NATO, the CSCE and the European Community's initiatives.

"Bulgaria has more than once stated its firm intention—and I want to reaffirm it here today—not to interfere in developments concerning the future fate of the people living in Yugoslavia. We strongly support relevant UN and EC efforts to find a negotiated solution to the crisis," Mr. Ganev said at the meeting.

"My country also supports the general approach of the European Community and its member states on the issue of the recognition of the new independent states," Mr. Ganev went on.

The foreign minister had meetings scheduled later today with the foreign minister of Turkey, Hikmet Cetin, and the foreign minister of Britain, Douglas Hurd. Bulgaria had requested a meeting with United States Secretary of State James Baker but the American, weary from a week of diplomacy in the former Soviet Union, could not fit it into his schedule here.

Ganev Meets Western Ministers

AU2212165891 Sofia BTA in English
1710 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Brussels, December 21 (BTA)—Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Stoyan Ganev, who is attending the first meeting of the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation in Brussels, met his German counterpart, Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Mr. Genscher pointed out that after the political changes in Bulgaria, the country can rely on Germany's comprehensive support for its

economic reform. The German foreign minister expressed understanding and approval of Bulgaria's position on the Yugoslav crisis and the way the problem should be solved. Mr. Genscher invited the Bulgarian foreign minister to visit Germany in January 1992. The invitation was accepted.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev met the French minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Roland Dumas, with whom he discussed some problems related to the forthcoming signing of a bilateral friendship and partnership treaty. The treaty will be signed during the official visit by the Bulgarian foreign minister to Paris scheduled for late January 1992.

At a brief meeting with Bulgaria's foreign minister, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker confirmed his country's sympathy for the changes carried out in Bulgaria after the October 13 elections and extended an invitation to Mr. Stoyan Ganev to visit the United States.

Mr. Douglas Hurd, secretary of state for foreign affairs of Britain, highly appreciated the changes in Bulgaria. He thanked for the support Bulgaria had given to the declaration of Britain and the United States in connection with the tragic incident over Lockerbie. Mr. Hurd said that Britain is ready to render assistance to Bulgaria in solving the country's power problems.

At his talks with Turkey's Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, Minister Ganev suggested that high-ranking officials from the foreign ministries of the two countries should meet in Sofia to prepare for signing an agreement on economic cooperation between the Black Sea countries. The document should be open to other interested countries. The Turkish side accepted the proposal. As it is known, similar agreement has been reached with the Ukraine and Romania. Mr. Stoyan Ganev expressed satisfaction with the agreement Sofia and Ankara had recently reached on taking additional measures for the strengthening of confidence and stability and said he would be glad if the other Balkan countries join the agreement. The Turkish foreign minister backed up Bulgaria's proposal for a meeting of Bulgarian, Turkish and Greek military experts which had been also approved by Greece during Mr. Ganev's visit to Athens.

At the talks minister Stoyan Ganev had with his Portuguese counterpart, Prof. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the shared opinion was expressed that there is a considerable potential for the promotion of bilateral relations. Prof. Pinheiro said he is optimistic over Bulgaria's association with the European Community at an early date. Portugal is to take over the EC chairmanship on January 1, 1992.

Dienstbier Welcomes New NATO Body

LD2112110991 Prague CSTK in English
1303 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Brussels Dec 20 (CSTK)—The North Atlantic Council of Cooperation will expand NATO's stabilising

influence to central and eastern Europe and calm down the security situation on the continent, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said here today.

Speaking at the Council's first session Dienstbier said the Council itself is not a guarantee of security and its establishment does not mean Czechoslovakia will give up the idea of association with NATO and later full membership of the pact. Czechoslovakia would welcome a meeting of the Council's members on the level of defence ministers, Dienstbier added.

He said the Council should stimulate NATO's bilateral cooperation with individual countries of central and eastern Europe. One of the first problems it should deal with is the integration of the new states now emerging on the Soviet territory into its activity.

The North Atlantic Council of Cooperation groups sixteen NATO member states, six states of the former Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the three Baltic republics.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told journalists today U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's proposed NATO commission to help former east bloc countries convert military production to civilian uses would be "extraordinarily important" for Czechoslovakia.

Baker made the proposal for the new group at the first meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), held here today. The NACC groups sixteen NATO member nations, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Dienstbier said the commission's activities would include regular meetings with the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Prague.

Dienstbier Meets With Baker

LD2112092991 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 0300 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The situation in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was the main subject of yesterday's talks between the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Brussels.

They also discussed a plan which envisions a West-financed participation of Central European countries in aid to Soviet republics.

The meeting with James Baker was one among a number of talks held by Jiri Dienstbier yesterday on the occasion of a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Among them there were Polish-Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks concerning the troika's tactics within the EC and the reestablished North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the Helsinki Conference.

Dienstbier: Guarantees Not Necessary

LD2112140791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2145 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Czechoslovakia is represented at the session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the Federal Government and minister of foreign affairs. A little while ago we got him on phone from Brussels:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The Czechoslovak Press Agency issued a report today that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had hinted at a possibility that NATO could offer security guarantees to eastern European countries. Nevertheless, it is said that this kind of guarantee was not discussed at the Brussels meeting. Why, Mr. Minister?

[Dienstbier] Above all, at present there is no need for such guarantees because so far there has been no direct military threat to anybody. Of course, if there is such a threat then we would unequivocally demand such guarantees. I have been repeating this for some time now and I think this is generally accepted. [passage omitted]

I think that NATO and its member-states are very well aware of the fact that at present the security of the West depends to the same degree—and perhaps even more than previously—on the developments in central and eastern Europe. [end recording]

Jeszzenszky Proposes Arms Show

LD2012124391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs Geza Jeszenszky has said that the creation of the NATO Coordination Council is of immeasurable significance. Laszlo Mecs, our correspondent, reports from Brussels.

[Mecs] [passage omitted] Our foreign minister, in his speech delivered in English, spoke about the immeasurable political and military significance of the NATO Coordination Council, especially now. He singled out that the security of the region can only be conceived by the creation of an Atlantic Community—as emphasized by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

One of Geza Jeszenszky's proposals, that Hungary would be more than willing to host such an international exhibition in which member countries of the NATO Coordination Council would display their modern military technology for each other, has been described immediately by the Council session as interesting, worthy of attention.

Jeszzenszky Praises Meeting

LD2012173991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpt] In Brussels, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council is holding its founding session. This is the forum

for contacts between the central-eastern European countries and NATO. From Brussels we have a quick analysis from [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky:

[Begin recording] There is no doubt that from many points of view it is the culmination of everything that the North Atlantic Cooperation Council has done in session and that Hungary along with other former communist countries participated in this. We were received as completely equal partners, and with complete confidence. Everyone is seeking to find out what these countries can offer NATO in the way of ideas, how they can contribute to resolving those great problems with which the whole world is faced, particularly those countries which can be found in this central-eastern European region. [passage omitted]

Nastase Views NATO Role

AU2012135691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1318 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Brussels ROMPRES 20/12/1991—The Romanian minister of foreign affairs mentioned in the speech he delivered Friday, November 20, at the NATO foreign ministers' meeting, held in Brussels, to which East European ministers have been invited, that Romania was confidently attending the first meeting of the NATO Council of Cooperation, which is an expression of NATO's readiness to contribute to the safeguarding of the security of the central and East European states, to stability in that region.

The Romanian minister added that this meeting had a special significance and could be taken as a symbol, considering the special conditions in which it is being held.

Romania, that lies in one of the hottest zones of today's Europe, is very hopeful as regards NATO's role in its national security and in the regional stability, said the Romanian foreign minister, who added that the Romanian Government had also been relying on the CSCE potentialities and on European structures, that has become increasingly powerful and acquired further prospects following the recent meeting at Maastricht.

On the other hand, added Minister Adrian Nastase, Romania had welcomed NATO's historic decisions on the creation of partnership relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Ministers Hold Joint Conference

LD2112104291 Budapest MTI in English
2016 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Brussels, December 20 (MTI)—"The founding session of the North Atlantic Co-operation Council

(NACC) and its documents have increased the security of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland in themselves, foreign ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary, Jiri Dienstbier of Czechoslovakia and Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland said in one accord during their joint press conference here today.

Asked by MTI's correspondent, they confirmed that with the knowledge of the German and Austrian moves concerning the recognition of the Yugoslav republics, the three countries had met again to co-ordinate positions and further consultations would follow.

Answering a question about the possible danger of a "spillover" of Yugoslavian fighting, Geza Jeszenszky said it was highly unlikely that Yugoslavia's military leaders wanted to internationalize the conflict by extending it to Hungary. At the same time, he stressed that the statements on indivisible security, released by NATO yesterday and by NACC today, also apply to Hungary.

Earlier today, the three foreign ministers met their counterparts from the Benelux countries.

Geza Jeszenszky left Brussels for Budapest in the evening.

Jeszenszky Favors European Security Integration

LD2012220191 Budapest MTI in English
1621 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] brussels, December 20 (MTI)—No one knows what framework will be created for the cooperation between NATO and East-Central European countries, but it is certain that Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland want to integrate into the European sphere of security, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in an interview in the December 20 edition of the German daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG.

Jeszenszky gave the interview in Bonn before leaving for Brussels.

Speaking about the German-Hungarian basic treaty, initialled December 18, he said Germany has committed itself to backing Hungary's inclusion into the EC as soon as the proper political and economic conditions are created.

Another clause of the treaty emphasized by Jeszenszky is that "the sides are to urge a legal enforcement of CSCE resolutions on the protection of minorities passed in Copenhagen".

Germany will become Hungary's partner in protecting Hungarian minorities beyond the border, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG said.

Council of Europe Committee Ends Sofia Meeting

*AU2012184791 Sofia BTA in English
1607 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—There are no obstacles to Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe next spring, Mr. Dumeni Columberg, speaker for Bulgaria of the Committee on Legal Issues and Human Rights of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, said at a press conference today.

We have established that Bulgaria has made considerable progress in the process of its democratization in a brief period of time. The government and parliament are determined to continue their efforts to turn Bulgaria into a law-abiding state respecting human rights. We have also reached the conclusion that despite some shortcomings the new Bulgarian Constitution corresponds to the conditions of the democratic states. We welcome Bulgaria's orientation to Europe and we will support her request for full membership in the Council of Europe. This is what Mr. Columberg said after the two-day session of the Committee on Legal Issues of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Sofia.

The committee is satisfied with the exchange of opinions with the leadership of the National Assembly and the different parliamentary committees and with its talks with Mr. Svetoslav Luchnikov, minister of justice, Mr.

Yordan Sokolov, minister of the interior, Mr. Neno Nenovski, member of the Constitutional Court and with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

Answering a question the leader of the Turkish delegation to the Council of Europe said that Turkey is closely following the process of democratization in Bulgaria, that it is satisfied with the restoration of the rights of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria and will support Bulgaria's application for full membership in the Council of Europe.

Ukraine Interested in Joining Warsaw Troika

*LD2012194691 Warsaw TVP Television Network
in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Ukraine is very much interested in joining the Warsaw-Prague-Budapest triangle. The news reached PAP after a meeting between Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm foreign affairs commission, with Mikhail Horyn, deputy chairman on the Ukrainian Rukh and deputy to the Ukraine Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian guest has been on a three-day visit to Warsaw to present the situation in Ukraine to the Polish authorities and politicians. Professor Geremek told PAP after the meeting that he believes that Ukraine considers Poland as its major partner and it wants to move toward Europe through Poland.

Government Recognizes Republic of Belarus

*AU2312192791 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—Through a decision of the government today Bulgaria acknowledged the independence of the Republic of Belorussia and expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it.

A meeting of the two countries' foreign ministers is expected to take place within a few months. They are to discuss the prospects for the development of the relations and protocols will probably be signed on the establishment of diplomatic relations and on trade in 1992.

Bulgaria's Government decided to join the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees and the 1967 protocol to it.

The cabinet also decided to set up an emigration office after consultations with the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

BSDP Demands Recognition of Yugoslav Republics

*AU2212170291 Sofia BTA in English
1819 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The sovereignty of all the republics of former Yugoslavia which have declared democratically their will for independence through voting should be recognized, it is stated in the declaration of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] approved at its national conference today. The declaration expresses concern over the fact that only the independence of Croatia and Slovenia will be recognized. There is no doubt that after the military operations in Croatia are over, pan-Serbian chauvinism will turn against the other republics which have declared their will for independence, it is pointed out in the document.

Should Macedonia, Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina bathe in blood first to think about recognizing their independence too? If the events take such a tragic turn, the Bulgarian people will be put to a severe test—more than one-third of Bulgarians are descendants of Macedonian immigrants, it is said in the declaration of the BSDP.

Group Established To Coordinate Emergencies

*AU2312190891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] At the Council of Ministers Press Center, an extraordinary news conference was held by Colonel Nikola Nikolov, head of the Civil Defense and Colonel Kiril Radev, appointed today as the military adviser to the prime minister.

It was announced that a special group has been established to coordinate information and actions during industrial accidents and emergency situations. The reason for this action, as you remember, was most likely the crisis that took place yesterday without there being an accident, when the situation was underrated.

Lieutenant Colonel Rudarski, secretary for the Commission for the Protection of the Population During Disasters and Accidents, has been dismissed because he did not deem it necessary to inform the prime minister of the false alarm.

Reporters were briefed on the organization and the way the Civil Defense reacts during emergency situations. Apart from this, as usually happens on Mondays at 1500, the Council of Ministers held their regular session.

Christian Democrat Parties Merge To Form 'Union'

*AU2212170491 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] As of today, the Christian Democratic Front, a member of the Union of Democratic Forces, is to be called the Christian Democratic Union. This decision was made today by the delegates to the party's fifth general meeting in Sofia.

The meeting, which was attended by members of the Christian Democratic Party in Bulgaria chaired by is Pavel Shopov, expressed the wish of the individual members and territorial organizations of the Christian Democratic Party in Bulgaria to join the structures of the Christian Democratic Union.

The meeting agreed by general consensus to accept the representatives of the Christian Democratic Party as own members, after which it elected additional new members to the party's National Coordinating Council. Yuliy Pavlov was elected chairman of the Christian Democratic Union.

Havel Welcomes Commonwealth of Independent States*LD2312151591 Prague Stanice Praha Radio
Network in Czech 1430 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Republic President Vaclav Havel has welcomed the agreement to form the Commonwealth of Independent States, which has been concluded in Alma-Ata by 11 republics of the former Soviet Union. He believes that the Commonwealth will become a permanent example of an approach to the dissolution of colonial empire by peaceful, democratic means without closing the door to future cooperation. Czechoslovakia has already recognized the Ukraine, is about to recognize Belarus, and is preparing to change the accreditation of the embassy in Moscow from the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation. Czechoslovakia intends to recognize the other republics of the former Soviet Union in the near future.

Government Recognizes Republic of Belarus*LD2312182591 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] The CSFR government today recognized the Republic of Belarus as an independent state, and expressed the desire to establish diplomatic relations.

Havel Briefs Journalists on Draft Election Law*LD2312151491 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Czech 1300 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] President Vaclav Havel informed journalists today about his draft election law. Alexander Picha reports on the briefing at Prague Castle.

[Picha] The president confirmed that the proposal for the election law is directly linked to his vision of the new Federal Assembly and the Federal Council. The proposal, however, is adaptable even for a possible senate which is backed by the majority of parliament deputies.

The election law presupposes the setting up of 200 electoral wards which would provide 200 deputies to the Federal Assembly. Each party or coalition would have only one candidate standing in such an election ward. The candidates would be listed in the ballot paper on the basis of a random draw. The franchisee would mark the name of his favorite with the number one, and his next favorite with the number two.

Candidates who gain a majority of over a half of the number one preferences in their electoral ward would get to the Federal Parliament directly. President Havel estimates that 20 percent of deputies would be elected in this way. In other electoral wards, preferences numbers one and two would be added up and those candidates who would thus gain at least 40 percent would then get into parliament.

In the wards where a candidate with such backing cannot be found, proportional representation would apply. The decision would be based on the success of a party or coalition. However, the order of candidates would again be determined by the number of gained preferences.

President Havel and Professor Vladimir Klokocka, the coauthor of the proposal, argued when explaining their proposal that this system combines the advantages of both election principles—majority and proportional. A parliament thus elected, according to Havel, would be much more integrated, unlike the present Federal Assembly which is politically polarized according to political interests.

The expenditure on the election according to Havel's proposal has been estimated by the Interior Ministry at a maximum of 200 million korunas, inclusive of the contribution to political parties.

Vaclav Havel would like to see the parliament seriously discuss his initiative already in January. Nevertheless, he presumes his idea will clash with a totally different proposal for a proportional election law, conceived by the deputies.

Satellite Launched Into Orbit 18 Dec*AU2312134191 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 20 Dec 91 p 3*

[Karel Pacner report: "Third Czechoslovak Satellite Launched"]

[Excerpts] On the morning of 18 December, at 0403 Central European Time, the Soviets launched from the Plesetsk cosmodrome in the north of the European part of Russia the Interkosmos [IK] 25 satellite, along with the small Czechoslovak Magion 3 satellite. It is characteristic of the present situation in the disintegrating USSR that we have received no official news agency report on the event. The launching was confirmed to us by the staff of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Magion 3 will take part in the international APEX project, which stands for Active Plasma Experiment. The APEX project involves 15 states from the whole world. Magion 3 weighs 52 kilograms, is 56 centimeters high, and its diameter, with its transmitting aerial unfolded, is 1.7 meters.

All Czechoslovak satellites belong to the category of small-body satellites, which are also called sub-satellites. They are always launched together with a maternal satellite, from which they separate only after launch into orbit. [passage omitted]

According to the staff of the Geophysical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, first controls have shown that the IK 25 is operating well. Now it will be necessary to check the functioning of Magion 3. The Czechoslovak satellite is to separate from its maternal body on 28 December, upon an order from the control station at Panska Ves in north Bohemia.

Magion 3 is the third satellite built by Czechoslovak experts. The first, Magion 1, was launched in November 1978 and operated for three years. [passage omitted] Magion 2 was launched into orbit in 1989. The satellites' name is derived from their assignment—the study of the MAGnetosphere and the IONosphere of our planet.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Terrorist Attack

LD2312175791 Budapest MTI in English
1652 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 23 (MTI)—The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Hungary was deeply shocked by the bloody attack committed by as yet unidentified culprits against Jewish immigrants en route from the Soviet Union to Israel.

The Republic of Hungary profoundly condemns the crime, the targets of which were civilians who, for humanitarian reasons, temporarily enjoyed the hospitality of Hungary.

The crime, risking lives of peaceful people—including women, children and elderly people—with the aim of achieving obscure political goals, cannot remain unresolved. The Hungarian authorities will make every possible effort to arrest the culprits and the masterminds of this terrorist action. The Foreign Ministry hopes that the international community will unambiguously condemn this senseless and cowardly attack on immigrants.

The Foreign Ministry believes tensions and conflicts between the Middle East countries can only be settled peacefully, through the dialogue of those concerned. In this spirit, it welcomes the talks aimed at peaceful settlement and hopes that they will continue successfully.

Attending the ministry's Christmas ceremony, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said he hoped Hungarian security organs would arrest the culprits as soon as possible and that the cowardly attack would not harm Hungary's relations with either Israel or the Arab states.

Concerning Hungary's relations with the successor states of the Soviet Union, Jeszenszky announced that talks were under way on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Belarus and Moldavia.

No Plans To Suspend Transit

LD2312153391 Budapest MTI in English
1418 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 23 (MTI)—Despite today's bomb attack, Hungary goes on providing transit for Jewish immigrants travelling from Russia to Israel, Hungarian Interior Minister Peter Boross told MTI today.

Boross was speaking after a bomb attack was committed against a bus carrying Jewish immigrants near Budapest Ferihegy Airport today.

Hungary cannot retreat as that would be a justification of the shameful act. On the contrary, the country must go on with its practice of giving transit to Jewish immigrants, Boross said.

Answering MTI's question, he said it is inevitable that stricter border controls will have to be introduced. At the same time, he warned against provoking anti-Arab feelings.

"The stepping-up of border controls is by no means a measure directed against Arabs", he stated.

Israeli Envoy Reacts

LD2312154991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Our colleague, Szilard Nyakas, asked Israel's ambassador in Budapest, David Kraus, about the terrorist act a few minutes after the diplomat himself was informed of the incident.

[Begin Kraus recording] These terrorist acts are the actions of cowardly people and cowardly organizations who wish to intimidate people or countries over issues which they can carry out legally, in accordance with human rights. And the aim of this intimidation is to prevent these matters from being carried out. So, this is a sad thing.

Very tough measures must be taken against these things, and very severe action must be taken so that these attacks can be stopped, or reduced as much as possible. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Discusses EEC, Yugoslavia

AU2312093591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 18 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Pal Bokor on board an airplane travelling from Brussels to Budapest; date not given: "EEC Membership by Millennium"]

[Text] [Bokor] Minister Jeszenszky, someone has compared our association with the EC to the adoption of Christianity. Is that not an exaggeration?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, I do believe that is an exaggeration. We are not the barbarian nation of a thousand years ago, only just being accepted by Europe. We have been travelling on this road for a long time; it is another matter that we were diverted in the meantime. I would rather compare what has happened to the persecution of the devil. We chased the spirit of totalitarianism out of Eastern Europe, and that is also what is happening in the Soviet Union at the moment. This is a great opportunity because we were suddenly given the chance not only to push the boundary between dictatorship and Europe a little bit farther, but also to be able to abolish it through a radical step. This liquidation has not yet taken place, but we do have the opportunity at hand.

[Bokor] The preamble to the agreement notes that the other signatories acknowledge that Hungary wishes to join the Community—in other words, the countries of Europe that represent the highest economic levels. How long could this accession take for our country?

[Jeszenszky] We believe that a great deal depends on us. A lot depends on how fast the Hungarian economy can catch up, how long it takes to grow up to the competition

that exists on this market. The other question is how fast our legislation will work because we do not merely need to ratify the treaty, we also need to create a legal system that is compatible with the European one. Numerous unforeseeable difficulties have arisen these last 18 months. On the basis of all this, I think that nobody with any responsibility can say more about accession than that it could take place some time between today and the turn of the millennium.

[Bokor] The association agreement will come into force on 1 March. Why is there a waiting period?

[Jeszenszky] This time is needed for the member states to approve the agreement. We are not even talking about formal ratification because that could take up to a year.

[Bokor] The prime minister believes that the agreement will bring Hungary many new responsibilities. What foreign affairs responsibilities will there be?

[Jeszenszky] This is the reason behind the Foreign Ministry reshuffle. I do not like bureaucracy and I am not a great believer in reshuffles either, but all living organizations are characterized by the fact that they change constantly, and it is better if the structures change in accordance with experience rather than on a trial-and-error basis. Naturally, we need continuity, but a reshuffle is inevitable after 18 months and after such fundamental events like this association agreement, the establishment of Pentagonale cooperation, and the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact itself. For example, our staff needs to be reduced at certain embassies, but we need to greatly intensify our relations in other areas. We need to develop an organization, an administration, and an interministerial coordination in the Foreign Ministry that will enable us to accelerate the adaptation process.

[Bokor] How was the tripartite agreement on the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia born?

[Jeszenszky] The "Visegrad three" have the same assessment of what is happening in Yugoslavia, they have the same idea of the road that could lead to a solution, and this road passes through the recognition of the sovereign states. Many arguments indicate that if the warring factions had to come to an agreement as sovereign republics, they would be capable of doing so. Indeed, so far, one side has negotiated from a position of strength, whereas the other side has been in rather a weak position. What the Croatian foreign minister said a few months ago in Budapest is tragic: Sooner or later they will recognize the independent republics anyway, but why do we have to wait so long for this, why do so many hundreds and thousands of people have to die, why do things of enormous value have to be destroyed?

[Bokor] You will be travelling to Brussels again this week. What will your purpose be that time?

[Jeszenszky] The North Atlantic Cooperation Council created by NATO will be holding its first meeting then. The foreign ministers from the NATO countries and

nine former communist countries will meet—to be exact, nobody knows whether somebody will come from the Ukraine and Belarus, or who those delegates might be. Regardless of that, I expect the meeting to be a true forum for political and security policy cooperation in this new Europe, and I hope that it will give us guidelines in this area. I do not think that any fundamental decisions will be made at this first meeting. This will be an introduction and an appraisal of what the organization could achieve. In any case, this is the first time that our countries will be able to state their opinion on developments in Europe, and particularly Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the ensuing new challenges—and I think Hungary has some answers to these questions.

Comments on Central Europe, Ukraine

AU2212173891 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
21 Dec 91 p 5

[Boris Kalnoky report: "Central Europe Will Become Like Benelux"]

[Text] In the opinion of Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, in the future central Europe will grow together in a similar way as the Benelux states. The central European countries constitute "a specific unit with joint traditions and a joint culture," Jeszenszky stated in an interview with DIE WELT in Bonn. Here he differentiated between Germany and central Europe, which will be an "important partner of Germany."

Shortly after the initialing of the German-Hungarian friendship treaty in Bonn, Jeszenszky rejected fears that Germany would be too influential in Europe as the reference point in the region. "Undoubtedly, German culture has decisively shaped central Europe. But this will not turn it into a German province; it will rather become a closely intertwined and integrated region like the Benelux countries, with its own cultural identity, even toward Germany." When the EC extends some day "to the Urals," such a central Europe will be "exactly in the middle." Europe will "gain weight" because of its extension to the East, which is intended in the long run.

Jeszenszky also regards the regional cooperation between the six countries of the "Hexagonale" (it will be renamed "Central European Initiative" next year) as a "promising" model of central European cooperation with Italy and the EC as partners that are integrated within NATO.

Regarding the question of the Yugoslav republics' recognition, Hungary wants to follow the EC course. However, Jeszenszky indicated that with a view to the fate of the hard-pressed Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, which is dominated by Serbia, Hungary might postpone recognition. "We will make new efforts to explain to the Serbian public that we are not anti-Serbian." Unfortunately, "the Serbian politicians are not very receptive." However, in view of the "propaganda, the lies that are spread about Hungary, and the intimidation campaign

in Vojvodina," it is hardly conceivable at present that such efforts will be successful.

Hungary sees a "new, friendly, and important neighbor" in the Ukraine, with which Hungary has been the first country to establish diplomatic relations (this step was also taken with Russia). Both countries signed a joint declaration on the protection of minorities, to which Croatia recently acceded. "To some extent, the Ukraine regards Hungary as a model and a bridge to Europe, and we want to advocate a closer European integration of the Ukraine to the best of our abilities," Jeszenszky said. The markets that are breaking away and the trade with the former Soviet Union, which formerly constituted 90 percent of Hungarian trade, also have to be recovered, he said.

Officials View Disintegration of Soviet Union

LD2212183391 Budapest MTI in English
1737 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI)—Established by Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus two weeks ago, the Commonwealth of Independent States was joined by another eight members in Alma-Ata on Saturday, implying the final disintegration of the Soviet Union. On this score, MTI interviewed some foreign policy experts of the government and the opposition.

Tamas Katona, state secretary of foreign affairs, said that although the latest events were incalculable in many respects, they were also reassuring since a commonwealth emerged rather than "nationalist nation-states which are prepared to cut one another's throat". The Hungarian foreign policy has been preparing since the summer of 1990 for what happened on the territory of the Soviet Union, Katona said. The country's foreign policy-makers were aware that both the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were obsolete federal states which could no longer be maintained in their old form, he said.

In the state secretary's view, the new agreement creates an opportunity for a peaceful, even if difficult, transition. He referred to the economic difficulties the new states would face, but expressed the hope that Subcarpathia, which might gain independence through a referendum, would establish an economic zone, creating an economic and cultural link between Europe and the Ukraine and Russia. The state secretary said that the Hungarian Government had authorized the Foreign Ministry to make steps in the interest of establishing diplomatic relations with the new states.

In Katona's view, it would prevent a series of endless debates if Russia inherited the Soviet Union's membership in the Security Council.

Gorbachev and Shevardnadze had undying merits but history has passed beyond them, Katona said.

The state secretary recalled that Hungary's peaceful transition had created a number of similar situations in the past few years.

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi (Alliance of Free Democrats), secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament, welcomed that the changes were taking place peacefully, of the free will of the republics. The new Commonwealth, he said, may create a framework for handling the regional and ethnic conflicts.

Szent-Ivanyi added that the name of Gorbachev would go down to history as an eminent politician who initiated an epoch-making transformation. However, he has accomplished his task. The coup proved that another charismatic leader would now be required. In Szent-Ivanyi's view, no politician of such significance will emerge in the political arena. Yeltsin's role, he said, will most probably be limited to Russia.

Zoltan Rockenbauer (Federation of Young Democrats), member of the Foreign Affairs Committee: "Perestroika has collapsed over Gorbachev, its mastermind." It became obvious after the abortive coup that Gorbachev's role would decrease and he would lose his leading post. "I think the Soviet Union is rushing into total anarchy," Rockenbauer said.

Democratic Alliance Elects Pozsgay Chairman

LD2212172791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The National Democratic Alliance [NDSz] has been in session since 1000 this morning in Budapest. Janos Molnar summarizes the events of the day.

[Molnar] At today's conference of the National Democratic Alliance, delegates representing the 2,000 members accepted the constitution of the organization and elected the leading office holders.

Imre Pozsgay and Zoltan Biro received 100 percent of the votes, thus they were promoted from executive roles to chairman and vice chairman.

The surprise of the day is that Kata Beke [independent member of parliament] joined the Alliance and even got into the 19-member board directing the work of the NDSz.

The Alliance, which is building on the support of those layers of society which are gradually turning away from party bickerings and politics, intends to become a political party in the future and it is aiming to get into parliament at the next general election.

The delegates conference will continue on 10 January with the debate on the planned tasks of the organization.

Olszewski Addresses Sejm on Economy, Government
LD2312181291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1236 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Address by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski to the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen deputies: A year ago, when the president of the Republic asked me to attempt to form a government, still not officially, I had a dream that it would be a breakthrough government. That government was not formed and today [word indistinct] I am not capable of saying whether that dream of mine was realistic. I know that today a breakthrough government, in the sense that I said then, cannot be formed, and I would like that to be clear. Today we can only talk about a breakthrough in the style of government, in the sense of the type of dialogue, the permanent dialogue being held between the public and the government. However, there is not and cannot be a breakthrough in an economy that is in the state the Polish economy is in. That is why today if there were accusations that a breakthrough, particularly an economic breakthrough, does not result from my program, which I presented to the esteemed chamber the day before yesterday, those accusations are wrong. I do not represent this government as a breakthrough government here in this esteemed chamber. I wish this government to be a government of hope for society, of hope not for a quick easing, as it should be said clearly here there is not a chance for that in the present conditions, but at least a gradual and visible improvement of the economic situation.

One should search for hope. The hope I am talking about is first of all a program aimed at the future, at working out real and substantial ways out of the present economic depression, social depression, and also civilization depression, which is becoming visible. Of course, one could object to the program presented in very general terms by me a day before yesterday saying that it did not show this substantial perspective. I understand the unsatisfied expectations of many of you, with regard to economic theories, in this government's economic program. But with the present complicated and unclear true picture of our economy—although we have a general picture—and above all a true picture of state finances, nobody responsible would be able to formulate more substantial assumptions based on this knowledge. That is why the only obligation I can undertake on my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues is the obligation and a promise that within two months after familiarizing ourselves and after analysing what we have taken over from our predecessors, we shall present a program with a two-year, or maybe three-year, perspective. At this moment one cannot have any other obligation. This two-year program is not going to be a program that will meet the expectations of Deputy Korwin-Mikke. Mr. Deputy, during these two years, and I say it with regret, my government is not going to solve all the problems that were allegedly solved in Chile by General Pinochet.

Perhaps because I lack a general's qualifications, perhaps because [applause] it was early capitalism that was being reformed there—and we have to reform, or rather depart from, late communism, and that is a significant difference. And above all perhaps because this nation does not like the introduction with the aid of force of any doctrines, whether of the left or of the right. [applause] And it is capable of effectively opposing intentions such as these.

May it please the house! I know the situation in the country is very tense at the moment. This was the reason why I had to hurry so quickly in forming my cabinet. I knew it would be appropriate to hold more consultations, more negotiations, more meetings, more talks, but in the situation in which we find ourselves there really was not time for this. If something can be done in this respect—changed, improved—then surely I, along with my colleagues who have agreed to be in this team that I am recommending to the esteemed house, are open to this.

May it please the house! There is at the moment standing before us a series of painful, drastic problems. The patience of our society is being exhausted. The voice of protest is spreading across the whole country. The list of social—for the most part, I have to admit, justified—demands is growing. But the government, any government, that would today undertake the direction of the affairs of the country would not be capable of positively resolving, in practice, nearly any demands associated with an increase of state expenditures.

[Text] The situation is such that in order to settle even the most urgent matters additional sacrifices from society will be necessary. If we want to give more than this minimum to someone, then we must ask ourselves a clear question: Where can we take it from? At the moment there are no substantial reserves or sources, besides perhaps two, but these are beyond our reach in the short-term.

The first is enormous wastefulness, which is still present in our administrative, economic, self-governmental structure, but in order to prevent this, to change this state of affairs, this structure must be reformed. We are resolute in making this reform, especially at the central level. There were questions and doubts here whether it is all right, if it is at all possible, to reform this structure at a time when it is burdened with current tasks, when ahead of it there stand, and will stand, further weighty problems.

May it please the house! I realize this [word indistinct], but if we do not at once end this vicious circle, then conditions for reforming—I would say for smashing—for the transformation in the right, rational direction of the cadaverous structures of the apparatus we inherited from the communists will essentially never arise. That is why I believe this has to be done, as well as in the name

of getting evident economic opportunities in the future—maybe even in the not too distant future.

There is a second source, a source that perhaps causes the greatest amount of opposition in society: the activity of the grey, or else perhaps the black, sector of our economy. Activity of which the financial extent—as measured by the losses of the state treasury—is in practice not possible to specify. But we know that these are losses, that it causes enormous losses. In this area the government will take decisive steps to counteract the lack of control and the invulnerability of these sorts of activities, which in many areas of our economic life, and not only economic life, may be starkly (seen). I would like to say—as there were calls here that everything must be brought to account—I would like to say that these matters, matters associated with the robbery of the public purse—which today has not got enough for schools, hospitals, orphanages—that these matters do not have any political coloration for me. Neither red, nor black. [sustained applause] I would like to assure everyone, and those who have to be warned, that I am color-blind in this respect. [applause]

May it please the house! Many painful problems have been stated here in the discussion of my expose. The problem of pensions came up many times—a very painful, very difficult problem. I must say, sincerely and openly, that I do not at this time have any plan for the immediate resolution of these matters. I am bold enough to say that such a plan quite simply cannot exist. We will of course have this matter in our sights; we will try to regulate this question within a certain realistic time frame. But I would not wish to go down in the history of these first years of the new Poland as the prime minister who was for these several dozen or so months the beneficiary of the pensioners only to then cause the break-down of the entire state budget. [applause]

Discussion here concerned the failure to fulfill or [word indistinct] of programs, electoral promises. If this refers to what I had said during the election campaign, then I would like my speeches, my statements, to be pointed out to me in which I did not remind my electorate that the coming months, or even years, would not be years of success but years of sacrifice, that these sacrifices must open for us the way for a better future. I hope we will be able to reach this point within months rather than years.

If this chamber discusses electoral slogans and turns them against the government program that I represent in this chamber, then I would like to challenge those who formulate such slogans to give the government a recipe for ensuring that each pensioner in Poland can receive 7 million zlotys a month. My government would accept such a recipe with enthusiasm. [applause]

May it please the house! During the hearing in the Sejm commissions, some of the candidates I proposed for the future government failed to get the deputies' approval.

This is something I also must of course take into account, but at the same time I am aware that the votes, at least of

some of the participants, of some of the deputies taking part in these meetings, unfortunately were not the result of an evaluation that was determined, or that should have been determined, on the basis of direct contacts with the candidate, as I know that party directives were issued in this respect. That is why I cannot, unfortunately, to such an extent as I could or ought to take this into account; I cannot take note of this to such an extent.

May it please the house! A year ago, when I was undertaking this difficult task in significantly better conditions, I had to make it conditional on agreement to the appropriate composition of that team with which I would be implementing the presented and then prepared program. I feel that every head of government on which fall such unimaginably difficult tasks as those that will fall on this government must have the conviction that the team that will be implementing these tasks is fully loyal and represents an opportunity for joint activity and cooperation. That is why, under current conditions, in light of these tasks before which—if the esteemed house grants us its confidence—we will stand, I stand by the entire list of my proposed personnel, while aware that, perhaps, many of the deputies will thus be placed in a difficult situation. [sentence as heard]

I believe, however, that we should here, among ourselves in this very hall, be open and sincere, as the dialogue between the government and society should be sincere.

I value the trust of this house very highly. Without this trust, of course, the government simply cannot come into being. It is important to me that it should be as wide-ranging a trust as possible, because that is, after all, one of the conditions for the success of my mission. But I am also aware of the fact that outside this hall there is a society of which almost two-thirds did not take advantage of their voting rights, yet their opinions are still important and this government must reach them as well. That is why I must say things that may not be popular—including here. That is also why I wish us to have a clearly defined mutual trust—which will be very necessary should this government start to act and cooperate with this house.

I believe the worse possible thing that could happen would be to give this government rights through pity—as someone here has said. This government, despite dramatic circumstances, despite the fact that time is pressing, should have either the true support of this house or should not exist at all. [applause] That is why I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen deputies, that each of you should weigh in your consciences the interest of the republic—which is that the government should be formed quickly and also that this should be a government that would be able to execute the incredibly difficult tasks that are facing it.

You should consider this problem and vote in accordance with your consciences—irrespective of party directives.

Thank you. [loud and sustained applause]

Olszewski on Sejm Approval of New Government*LD2312203791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Statement by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski at a news conference in Warsaw on 23 December—recorded]

[Text] Maybe I will go ahead and answer questions immediately because ladies and gentlemen we, unfortunately, really have very little time today as the government has to start work almost immediately.

The fact that the voting was along party lines, at least in certain cases, simply means that a conclusion can be drawn that representatives of a certain political group in every commission were uniformly in every case against every minister—and that was just that political group. [sentence as heard] I think it is difficult to treat it as pure coincidence; it is rather a result of an agreed stance. But after all, this is a normal political practice in parliament and it is difficult for me to have any resentments. On the other hand, as far as an assessment of the finance minister is concerned, well, this is an exceptionally difficult ministry. I think that every other candidate for minister would have similar difficulties in giving a report or taking any stance at this moment and at this stage when answering questions posed by the Sejm commissions.

I met the president. I thanked him for support in the formation of the cabinet. We exchanged best wishes. Since the president is flying today—he may have already flown to Gdansk—the president expressed hope for good cooperation with the government.

In this current situation, I think we can all have both hopes and fears. As far as the issue of the Democratic Union is concerned, it is one of those political formations, one of those currents, in the Sejm about which, undoubtedly, I thought when I spoke about the need for broadening the political basis of the government.

It always happens that as far as the issue of partnership cooperation is concerned—as only such could be taken into consideration and only such could be attempted—there is always the point that there should be two partners trying, not just one. Thank you very much, and I will take this opportunity to send you my sincere greetings of a pleasant, peaceful Christmas.

Walesa: 50-50 Chance for New Government*LD2312165191 Warsaw PAP in English
1600 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—President Lech Walesa told journalists after the appointment of the new government that he was both fearful and hopeful about it.

"We finally have a government, peaceful holidays, and governing has begun which is very reassuring. The question remains though, how to solve our problems. I

believe the fledgling democracy will improve everything that can be improved and things will not be as bad as they seem," he said.

According to Walesa, the government must still be improved. The law must be amended to make effective action possible. The political base of the cabinet should be also broadened by seeking cooperation with other parties and choosing proper candidates for deputy ministers and lower ranks of the state administration. Walesa added that he has in mind members of the Democratic Union (UD) and other parliamentary forces.

The president sees the chances of the new government as fifty to fifty. He said he helped to form the cabinet in the recent days so that "Poland could have a government before Christmas as its fledgling democracy is still very shaky."

Government Ministers Listed, Profiled*LD2312213991 Warsaw PAP in English
1508 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—The Sejm (Lower House) on Monday appointed the following ministers in the Jan Olszewski government:

Artur Balazs—Minister without Portfolio,

Zbigniew Dyka—Justice Minister,

Jerzy Eysymontt—Minister, Head of the Central Planning Office,

Adam Glapinski—Minister of Foreign Economic Relations,

Gabriel Janowski—Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy,

Stefan Kozlowski—Minister of Environment Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry,

Jerzy Kropiwnicki—Minister of Labour and Social Policy,

Karol Lutkowski—Finance Minister,

Antoni Macierewicz—Interior Minister,

Marian Miskiewicz—Minister of Health and Welfare,

Jan Parys—Defence Minister,

Andrzej Sicinski—Minister of Culture,

Krzysztof Skubiszewski—Foreign Minister,

Andrzej Stelmachowski—National Education Minister,

Eweryst Waligorski—Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy

Wojciech Włodarczyk—Minister, Head of the Cabinet Office.

The following are profiles of the ministers:

Artur Balazs (39) Minister without Portfolio: A zootechnician by profession, member of the Solidarity Union of Private Farmers, participant in the round-table negotiations of 1989, member of the Episcopate Council for Pastoral Work among Farmers, Sejm (Lower House) deputy for the second term.

Zbigniew Dyka (63) Justice Minister: A lawyer by profession, suspended in 1984 in his right to practice his profession because of his appearances as a counsel for defence in political trials, vice president of the Supreme Council of the Bar, deputy to the Sejm on the ticket of the Christian National Union (ZCHN), chairman of the Sejm Committee of Justice.

Jerzy Eysymontt (54) Head of the Central Planning Office: Expert in political economy, in 1980 took part in the work of an independent scientific team called "the Balcerowicz group" on a draft of radical economic reforms, and participated in the work on the economic programme of the Solidarity Union. Centre Alliance (PC) member, head of the Central Planning Office (CUP) in the previous government.

Adam Glapinski (41) Minister of Foreign Economic Relations: Doctor of economic sciences, Solidarity member since 1980, now member of the Centre Agreement (PC) [as received] political council and coordinator of PC economic committee, co-author of the PC economic programme. Minister of spatial economy and construction in the previous government.

Gabriel Janowski (44) Minister of Agriculture: Doctor in agricultural sciences, co-founder of the Solidarity Union of Private Farmers and later its chairman. Interned under martial law, he participated in the round-table negotiations of 1989. Senator in the previous term of parliament, deputy to the Sejm.

Stefan Kozlowski (63) Minister of Environment Protection, Natural Resources and Food Economy: Professor, expert in geology and ecology, participant in the round-table of 1989. Chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences Committee for Man and Environment. Sejm deputy on the Solidarity ticket.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki (46) Minister of Labour and Social Policy: Expert in economy and foreign trade, Solidarity activist, served several-year prison term under martial law, then headed clandestine scientific research centre. Studied twice at the University of Wisconsin as a scholarship holder. Sejm deputy.

Karol Lutkowski (52) Minister of Finance: Graduate of a foreign trade faculty, expert in finances, above all international ones, he combined scientific work with economic practice at respective ministerial institutes. Adviser to the minister of finance since 1989. Courses and practical training in Mexico, West Germany, France and Britain.

Antoni Macierewicz (43) Minister of Internal Affairs: Historian, one of leaders of the 1968 students' protests in Warsaw, organizer and publisher of independent underground press, adviser to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in early 1980s. Imprisoned several times and interned under martial law, in 1990-91 again member of the advisory committee to Lech Walesa. A co-founder and vice chairman of the Christian National Union (ZCHN), Sejm deputy.

Marian Miskiewicz (65) Minister of Health and Welfare: Doctor of medicine with long practice in state hospitals and clinics and next in the Ministry of Health. Studied briefly in Britain and Finland. He was next entrusted by the World Health Organization with the mission to Botswana, and also worked with the consulting missions in Syria and Cyprus. In 1991 elected member of the managing board of the International Hospital Federation.

Jan Parys (41) Minister of National Defence: PHD in sociology, as from 1990 general director of the Central Planning Office (CUP) responsible for the economic and defence policy of the state. As from 1991 member of the board of the Office for National Security Council and of the Defence Industry Council. Member of a team for monitoring the events in the Soviet Union after the August coup. He also conducted negotiations on economic aspects of Soviet troops withdrawal from Poland.

Andrzej Sicinski (67) Minister of Culture: Professor at the Polish Academy of Science, head of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Culture at the Ministry of Culture and art, a co-founder of the Polish Radio and TV Public Opinion Polling Centre (OBOP) and member of the International Federation of Research on the Future.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski (65) professor of law, also studied international law and international affairs at the European Centre of the University of Nancy, France, and at Harvard, the U.S. He next conducted research at the Columbia University, N.Y. and lectured at Oxford and Geneva universities. Member of the Social Council at the Primate of Poland (1981-84) and of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State (1986-89). Solidarity member, foreign minister as from 1990.

Andrzej Stelmachowski (66) Minister of National Education: Professor of law, in August 1980 he was an adviser to the inter-factory striking committee of the Solidarity Union at the Gdansk shipyard, expert at the Solidarity National Council and adviser to the Solidarity of Individual Farmers. President of the Warsaw Club of Catholic Intelligentsia. Played an important role in the round-table talks. Senate speaker of the previous term.

Ewaryst Waligorski (64) Minister of Transportation and Maritime Economy: Expert in road transportation with a long career in the state railway transport (PKP) behind him. Solidarity activist, arrested and interned under

martial law. Minister of transportation and maritime economy in the cabinets of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

Wojciech Włodarczyk (42) Minister, Head of the Cabinet Office: PHD in humanities, author of several dozen of scientific dissertations. In the years 1976-81 activist of the Polish Independence Agreement (along with Jan Olszewski) organizer of the Solidarity Union at Warsaw University, interned under martial law. As from 1990 secretary of the Citizens' Committee at the Solidarity Union, secretary of the Advisory Committee at the President of the Republic (till last November) Sejm deputy on the PC ticket.

Balcerowicz Talks With Yeltsin Reported

AU2312195691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 19 Dec 91 p 1

[Moscow correspondent Sławomir Popowski report: "Boris Yeltsin Invited To Poland"]

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz's talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow exceeded their agenda, for Balcerowicz gave Yeltsin a letter from President Walesa and an oral invitation to come to Poland. Yeltsin accepted.

The deputy prime minister said his economic talks with President Yeltsin and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar were very good and businesslike.

At a joint news conference with Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar, Balcerowicz described the talks as having taken place on three planes, as it were; the question of Polish-Russian economic cooperation, Poland's experience in economic reform, and political problems.

"Thanks to the decisions we reached, the basis for expanding Polish-Russian trade next year has been created," said Balcerowicz. "One of the things we established was the rules governing financial settlements in 1992. So far, part of our trade has been conducted in convertible currency, and part has been implemented according to the principle of barter. Now we have established a group of so-called strategic commodities on both sides, which will still be calculated in convertible currency, but in such a way as to maintain equilibrium."

In this context, Balcerowicz emphasized the importance Poland attaches to the reestablishment of trade links with Russia.

Asked to give an assessment of the Russian economic reform, Balcerowicz said this reform calls for basic activities essential to stabilizing the economy during the emergence from communism, especially a balancing of the budget, a liberalization of prices and foreign trade, and the introduction of a hard currency. The Russian reform contains all these elements. The RSFSR authorities intend to start implementing this reform at the beginning of the new year.

Speaking about the "political plane" of his talks, Balcerowicz said he and his interlocutors had discussed matters connected with the Polish-Russian cooperation agreement, plus the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland and corresponding financial settlements. Balcerowicz said that in further talks on these subjects, Poland's partner would henceforth be Russia.

Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar also gave a positive assessment of his talks with the Polish guest, saying that they had concentrated on economics and trade, with a view to reestablishing old economic links in the changing economic and political situation. In this context, we discussed the question of debts and deliveries of the more important commodities that are included in the strategic commodities category. In Poland's case, that means natural gas and crude oil, and in Russia's case coal and medicine."

Balcerowicz told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "I handed President Boris Yeltsin a letter from President Lech Walesa, a reply to a letter President Yeltsin had sent our president in 7 November. In his letter, President Walesa says that the process of reestablishing old structures in Russia is being closely monitored in Poland.

"I also conveyed to President Yeltsin an invitation to visit Poland. The Russian president said this could take place in the first quarter of 1992."

The Polish side presented the draft of a treaty on Polish-Russian cooperation, which the Russian partners received with interest. President Yeltsin said it is important to work out a good, comprehensive treaty which would regulate Polish-Russian relations exhaustively.

A major step forward was also made in the economic sphere. A list of Polish exports to and imports from Russia was decided upon. Provided of course it is implemented, this list permits us to count on increased trade next year. It is also to be expected that once the Russian reform has been set in motion, direct contacts between Polish and Russian firms may be developed to a greater extent than has been the case so far.

Ambassador to Moscow Views Bilateral Ties

LD2312130291 Warsaw PAP in English
1240 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—Asked about the assessment of Poland's Eastern policy by Russia, Polish Ambassador to Moscow Stanisław Ciosek told ZYCIE WARSZAWY on Monday that the Polish policy was viewed in Russia as a sign of great responsibility and consideration. He said that the knot of prejudices had to be untied with an extreme subtlety, a question by question, and politically speaking this was done well.

Ciosek said that Poland was still unable to switch over to economic rationalism in mutual relations. Russians do not pay, they seek credits and tell Poles to invest their own money, while Poland itself is poor. He suggested

that Poles should take Western know-how and try to enter the big Eastern market, adding that Czechs and Hungarians do this without hesitation.

In reply to the question about Poland's role as a bridge between East and West, Ciosek said that it should be viewed in modern terms. He said that big economic potential and big market attracted each other naturally. He stated that Poland should be an indispensable "translator" as it understood East and the principles of operation of the post-centralist economy better than others. He added that this was a great area for activity.

Stressing that new concepts were important for cooperation, Ciosek said that Poland wanted to set up a Polish business centre in Moscow now to extend and simplify economic relations without the help of state officials.

Accord Signed With Hungarian Armed Forces

*LD2012183391 Warsaw PAP in English
1649 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—Chiefs of the General Staffs of Polish and Hungarian Armed Forces, Generals Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk and Janos Deak signed an agreement on cooperation between the Polish and Hungarian Armies Friday.

General Stelmaszuk said the agreement was a continuation of the accord signed in Budapest last March by the Polish and the Hungarian defence ministers and covered chiefly issues of air traffic in the airspace of both states.

He also said the agreement did not mean the conclusion of a military treaty between Poland and Hungary.

Also today Polish national defence minister, Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk received Gen. Deak, now on one-day visit to Poland.

Border Cooperation Agreement Signed With CSFR

*LD2012221991 Warsaw PAP in English
1931 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Krakow, Dec. 20—Representatives of planning authorities of Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics signed an agreement in Krakow on Friday under which border cooperation between the sides will be extended. Their talks also focused on the need for building new border crossings and modernising the existing ones.

The sides proposed the setting up in Zakopane, southern Poland, of a Polish-Slovak Tatra University and of a Carpathian Euroregion forum.

Iliescu Addresses Diplomatic Corps on Christmas*AU2312190591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1602 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1991—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received at the Union Hall in the Cotroceni Palace on Monday [23 December] diplomatic heads of mission, other members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Romania, who conveyed to the Romanian people, the president and the government, Christmas and New Year's greetings in behalf of their states.

Musungayi N. Mampuya, dean of the diplomatic corps, ambassador of Zaire, evoked in his address the fast and profound dynamics of the world political and economic life of the year 1991, the changes wrought in countries in various continents. He appreciated Romania's activity at the United Nations and in other international bodies, as well as the political transformations here for which so many countries showed appreciation and support.

President Ion Iliescu too, made an address thanking the foreign diplomats for the activity devoted to the consolidation and development of the relations of various states with Romania. "We are meeting with you today," he said, "two years to the day since the new provisional power emerged on the night of December 22 to 23, 1989."

The meeting was attended by Dan Martian, chairman of the Assembly of Deputies, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, Romanian chief diplomatist Adrian Nastase, other executives of the Foreign Ministry, advisers to the presidency.

After conversing with the guests and raising the traditional champagne cup, President Ion Iliescu and the diplomatic corps attended a program of traditional Romanian religious songs and carols.

Advocates International Ties*AU2312204391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1940 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1991—The Romanian revolution meant Romania's opening to the world, Romania's President Ion Iliescu said, Monday, December 23, when he received members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Romania. We inherited a state of international isolation. We have made efforts, in bilateral relations and in international bodies, to operate a wide, decisive opening, and we shall continue along this path. We shall endeavour, first of all, to establish ties as good as possible, as strong as possible, of bilateral trust and good neighbourliness with those around us, with the ones that history made our neighbours, and alongside whom we have lived all sorts of things in the course of time, periods of mutually advantageous coexistence and equally moments of tension. We should live to avoid sources of tension and to set our relations on mutual esteem and respect, on common interests, therefore to establish good neighbourliness relations. We

made and will continue to make efforts to establish our relations with all European countries on a solid basis. There have been positive signs of late, as for the opening of European bodies towards Romania, and towards the other East European countries. We are confident that this opening will be enlarged and we shall overcome together all obstacles raised for tens of years between the East and the West of Europe. Let us make a united Europe, and develop civilisation, by joint efforts, in the new communities of this end of century. [sentence as received] We have opened doors to the world generally, the president said. "We wanted and want to have as good as possible relations with countries in all continents, with the United States and Canada, with the Latin world of America, with the countries of Africa, Asia, with Australia, we have made efforts on this line. We think we still have a lot to do in order to have our relations relying upon mutual confidence. We are very particular about the international bodies, the United Nations, other international organizations. We will do our best for Romania to have an active, positive participation in the efforts of the international bodies, for the establishment of peace in the world and the provision of new conditions for the development of free collaboration among all states. We realize the importance of the relations between what is defined as North and South, developed and poorly developed countries. We understand that the phenomenon of underdevelopment is one of the grave sources of world instability at this turn of century." President Iliescu said. "Many speak of the phenomenon of underdevelopment as a bomb, maybe more dangerous than other sources of international tensions and conflicts at this close of century. It is the duty of the international community to find ways to defuse this situation, to create a climate of collaboration, that should support the poorly developed countries' efforts toward reducing the gaps separating them from the developed world.

"In general, the world economy is facing this puzzle, namely how to blend present-day technological and economic progress with more equity in the relations among states and peoples. This affects the world generally. As a matter of fact, states like Romania too, that are not among the least developed in the world, that do have a certain material and human potential, might swell the ranks of the world's poorly developed countries if the efforts we are making to give our economic situation an equilibrium and give the national economy sound and efficient bases, fail. But this is also a problem of the international community generally, of the world economy as a whole. I believe these thoughts, these preoccupations will guide the political acts of the decision-makers at an international and national level, the activity of cooperation in the world today.

Spiroiu Visits USSR; Meets Hungary's Fur*AU2012193091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1842 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1991—A military delegation led by Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu,

Romania's national defence minister, paid a working visit to the USSR on December 18 and 19 at the invitation of Air Marshal Y. Shaposhnikov, that country's minister of defence. A definitional agreement was signed, previously covenanted between the Ministries of Defence of the two states, on bilateral military cooperation. It was decided that the agreement underlie the programmes of development of the relations between the Romanian Armed Forces and the military structures to be created in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

On his way home, in the evening of December 19, Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu met in Kiev with Colonel General K. Morozov, minister of defence of the Ukraine and his deputies. Information was exchanged on the situation of the two countries and Armies and it was agreed that links be established between competent bodies with a view to drafting a programme of bilateral military cooperation.

During his stay in Moscow Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu met in the evening of December 18 with Lajos Fur, minister of defence of the Republic of Hungary, with the military delegation he headed on a working visit to Moscow. Current questions related to the cooperation between the Romanian Armed Force and the Hungarian Armed Forces were tackled.

Nastase on Relations With Moldova, Hungary

AU2312152991 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 18 Dec 91 p 6

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Mirko Schwanitz; place and date not given: "The Goal Is Unification With Moldova"]

[Text] [Schwanitz] Mr. Nastase, how do you assess relations between Romania and Moldova at this point?

[Nastase] Relations with Moldova are developing as is customary between two sovereign states. On the one hand, we proceed from the historical truth that is closely connected with the Ribbentrop-Molotov-Pact and the subsequent Soviet annexation. On the other, we welcome Moldova's independence, with a view to the realities in Europe and the Helsinki Final Act. Geographically, Moldova has also been separated from the former Soviet Union as a result of Ukraine's independence. This may be conducive to the implementation of Moldova's independence. In addition, recent elections in Moldova have shown that the majority of the population supports President Snegur's independence efforts.

This is the basis on which our relations are developing. In addition, embassies will be established and opened, and entry regulations for citizens from both states will be simplified. We also want to simplify customs regulations which will facilitate the exchange of goods.

[Schwanitz] Your goal is unification between the two states. If this should really be achieved, what will become of the territory east of the Dniester which have never belonged to Romania?

[Nastase] Any statement at this point concerning a possible date of unification would be speculative. It is apparent that we pursue this goal, and I would like to stress in this connection that German unity is a model for us.

As far as the region that we call Transdnistria is concerned, we will have to agree on political criteria that should make possible the implementation of the unification process. One might use the borders of the former Soviet Union as the basis. In that case, Moldova would be a little less than the former Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. As a result, the territory of Transdnistria would be part of Moldova. The other possibility would be returning to the events of 1940, which would mean Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina without Transdnistria.

I suppose that both criteria cannot be applied at the same time. We can imagine future talks between the Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania to find a solution for the regions affected.

[Schwanitz] Not only from the Romanian viewpoint the Ribbentrop-Molotov-Pact is an injustice. However, if one wants to remove this injustice, one must take developments that took place during the past 51 years into consideration. Thus, the Romanians have been reduced to a minority in the former Romanian regions of the Ukraine.

[Nastase] This is probably the most difficult problem. I have the impression that the international public has not understood correctly our position on the referendum in the Ukraine. We were accused of indirectly claiming territory. However, with our declaration we only wanted to stress the invalidity of the Ribbentrop-Molotov-Pact once more. As a matter of fact, the territories that never belonged to the Ukraine before this pact, were again annexed, as it were, by the referendum. In other words, we wanted to draw attention to this renewed annexation without claiming these territories. In addition, the declaration issued by our parliament reflected the emotions of the Romanian public in connection with these regions.

We did not want to claim territory from the Ukraine, but we wanted to make it clear that, with this referendum, the Ukraine takes over certain rights and obligations from the former Soviet Union—also in connection with these territories. One must naturally take into consideration demographic developments when determining the final status of these territories.

[Schwanitz] The international public is very interested in the relationship between Romania and Hungary. Developments have not exactly been encouraging recently.

[Nastase] I believe that the visit by a high-ranking parliamentary delegation from Hungary headed by Mr. Gyula Horn was of great significance in this connection, particularly because talks were characterized by great openness, thus improving positions for both sides.

Ambiguous statements have been made recently, either in Hungary or by the Hungarian diaspora abroad. This led to incomprehension among the Romanian public concerning Hungarian policies. The borders and Transylvania are the main controversial issues.

We suggest the drafting of a treaty outlining the basic political positions which must include a clause on the borders, similar to the stipulation included in the German-Soviet treaty.

Official Clarifies Country's Stand on SFRY

*AU2312131991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0957 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/1991—Returned to Bucharest after a visit to the Yugoslav Republics of Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Constantin Ene, secretary of state at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated to the "Romania-News" radio programme that, within his mission, he presented "the way in which we Romanians see the situation in Yugoslavia, the main theme being the necessity to put an end to hostilities, to create conditions for the UN Forces so that the sides in conflict be able to start negotiations, the only solution being the political one."

Romania, Constantin Ene also specified, pays equal attention to each of the six Yugoslav republics, a stand which enjoyed the Yugoslav side's appreciation.

According to Mr. Ene's statement, this visit clarified Romania's conception concerning its relations with Slovenia and Croatia, taking into consideration that false news items circulated according to which Romania would have already recognised the independence of the two republics. I showed there, Mr. Ene said, that this is only a common arrangement to create facilities in the granting of visas, in the circulation of tourists and people.

Isarescu Explains Loan Accord With EEC

*AU2012210391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1932 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/12/1991—Friday, December 20, the governor-general of the National Bank of Romania, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, was for two hours subject to the senators' questions, as they decided the previous day when they put off the debates on the ratification of the loan accord between Romania and the European Economic Community, and its memorandum as well as on the loan accord between Romania and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The common denominator of the questions put by senators referred to the terms those international bodies imposed on Romania to grant it the loans, the way in which they will be used and paid back, to the existing hard-currency reserves and the hard-currency deficit.

Mr. Mugur Isarescu showed that the Common Market undertook, on behalf of Romania, to get the loans from capital markets on better terms without requesting a limitation of industry. The motive power of revamping the Romanian economy lies in investment opportunities, an ever more difficult thing when liquidity reserves are precarious and accumulation is insignificant, he said. In that context, Mr. Isarescu underscored the need to work out a programme for economic restructuring which is to be delayed so that exports can provide for the hard currency needed in retechnologization.

In connection with the criticism of the way in which negotiations were held with the potential creditors, the governor-general of the National Bank gave every detail and asked for full confidence in the bank's experts.

At the end of the two questioning-and-explaining hours, the Senate voted the two documents which are so important for Romania. They also showed readiness to cooperate with the executive in the implementation of the reforming programmes.

The Senate held today its last session this year. Its President Alexandru Barladeanu specified that over December 23-30 the senators would go to constituencies to meet electors. Considering there are several bills of high importance which must be approved sooner the Senate will meet in a special session on January 8, 1992, he showed.

International

Germany's Motives for Recognition Analyzed

LD2312170891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1520 GMT 23 Dec 91

[by Milenko Babic]

[Text] Bonn, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—The German Government today, as it was expected, proclaimed the recognition of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia. The decision will take effect on January 15, when Germany will establish diplomatic relations with the two republics.

The move means the fulfillment of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's promise that he will recognize the two republics, at least formally, by Christmas. Slovenia and Croatia have unilaterally seceded from Yugoslavia. The fulfillment of Chancellor Kohl's promise is, however, a secondary motive for Bonn's haste. At least three other motives are of a far greater importance.

Firstly, the formal recognition of the two republics has been used by Bonn demonstratively to stress Bonn's stand that Slovenia and Croatia already fulfill the conditions set by the European Community, which it does not think to be true in the case of the other Yugoslav republics which have sought recognition.

Secondly, Germany in this way continues to put pressure on the European Community and also other countries in Europe and the rest of the world, with a view to securing as massive as possible and automatic recognition when the January 15 deadline expires.

Thirdly, Germany is stepping up the pressure on the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia in order to, as Bonn has announced, have it lift the alledged blockade of the peace talks and accept a political solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The Bonn government believes that its steps are all along a correct political line, but its view is not shared by many in Europe and the rest of the world, in particular not Washington and UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, just as it is not by many in Germany, itself.

The Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND sets out in a commentary today that Bonn is "more likely to achieve a counter-effect" and end up being internationally isolated.

'Encourages' Militant Option

AU2312152891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Despite all the warnings, Germany and those who follow it are sticking to their plan to urgently and unilaterally recognize secessionism in Yugoslavia. One of the consequences of this could be that, using this encourages and supports official Croatia continuing to

utilize the military option of breaking up Yugoslavia even more aggressively. This was stated by Marko Negovanovic, assistant federal minister for defense, addressing a meeting in the center for publishing military publications and newspapers.

Such an assessment is confirmed by constant attacks in western Slavonia and the failure to observe the 14th cease-fire agreement that was signed in Geneva, General Negovanovic said. The more the foreign factor encourages them, the more the offensive of the neo-Nazi and clero-fascist army spreads. Therefore, the militant option, Negovanovic stressed, is a reality that one has to take into account. The SFRY Presidency and the Supreme Command headquarters have been pointing this out to all groups at home and abroad. In addition to some entities in Western and Central Europe, some of our neighbors have also tried to exacerbate the crisis in Yugoslavia, Marko Negovanovic said. Their reasoning is clear: It is better to have small states for neighbors, even if united in a looser association than Yugoslavia, which has been occupying more than a half of the Balkan Peninsula for more than 73 years.

Federal

Kostic Says EC Decision May Exacerbate Crisis

LD2312125891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said in an interview with today's NARODNA ARMJA that by adopting the Bruxelles decisions the EC is politically legalizing the unilateral acts of secession by some parts of Yugoslavia. This EC move, Kostic said, may exacerbate the Yugoslav crisis considerably and make the conflict escalate particularly in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area.

It is already certain today, Kostic maintained, that the Serbian people in Serbian Krajinas within today's administrative borders of Croatia, the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as Serbia and Montenegro, as two federal units, have already opted for the new, third, Yugoslavia.

It is our opinion, he added, that the best solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina for the time being is to decide to remain incorporated in Yugoslavia since there is no consensus in favor of an independent and sovereign state on the part of all three constituent peoples.

At some later stage no one will deny the Muslim people the right to secede from such a Yugoslavia on the basis of their freely expressed will, Kostic said, adding that one should not rule out the possibility of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina acting in a similar way. The principle behind the right to self-determination, he stressed, must be an indisputable principle in every constituent Yugoslav people.

Reiterating the already known stance of the SFRY Presidency that the United Nations should position a peace force along the partition line in the theaters of war in Croatia, Kostic said:

Unless the conditions for getting "the Blue Helmets" involved are not met, than "we obviously have no other alternative but to protect, by way of arms too, the Serbian people as a whole." With such an unfavorable outcome we would probably have to be very quick in constituting this new third Yugoslavia, something that would also imply the incorporation of Serbian Krajinas into its composition.

The reason why we have not yet made moves along the lines of transforming and setting up the new Yugoslavia's organs, Kostic explained, is also a result of our desire to keep Yugoslavia, to preserve its continuity as an internationally recognized entity and as a UN member, because the Security Council will have to make agreements and treaties about engaging peace forces with Yugoslavia and its organs. However, this does not mean that we are waiting and doing nothing.

Within the framework of competent expert services, new relevant documents, including a new draft constitution, are being drawn up, Kostic said.

If we assess at any one point that we should eventually embark on setting up a new state community and specify its borders, Kostic said, "the Yugoslav People's Army's [JNA] involvement will ensue to preserve these borders by all means at our disposal."

In his interview with NARODNA ARMIJA, Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, maintained that given the circumstances surrounding the JNA, any other army in its position would probably have collapsed. This army, however, has managed to survive and today it is still a powerful armed force on which those peoples who are interested in living together can rely, Kostic said.

Kostic on Mobilization, Russian Volunteers

92BA0261A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Dec 91 p 6

[Article by Z.M. and D.K.: "Branko Kostic: I Hope We Will Not Proclaim a General Mobilization"]

[Text] Bujanovac, 14 Dec—Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, visited Prohor Pcinjski, not far from Bujanovac, and while there he answered numerous questions of newsmen and directors of Bujanovac collectives.

"I sincerely hope that we will solve the present crisis in a peaceful and democratic manner. I believe that we will not undertake to proclaim a general mobilization and state of war. I have an extremely favorable assessment of the involvement of Cyrus Vance, who has shown disinterestedness. In my judgment, he will continue his

peaceful mission even after the end of the term of the present general secretary of the United Nations," Dr. Branko Kostic said.

Commenting on the Bush-Mitsotakis conversation, Dr. Kostic said that Greece, as our neighbor, had behaved in a constructive and friendly manner and "we can form a very favorable opinion of this meeting. Recently, the United States has taken a constructive approach to resolving our crisis."

In answer to the question of "how Stane Brovet, as a foreign national, can hold a distinguished position in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]," Dr. Kostic said that Brovet is not a foreign national in the JNA. Speaking about the possible involvement of Russian volunteers on our battlefield, Dr. Kostic said that the involvement of volunteers from foreign countries is possible only in case a state of war is declared. One of Kostic's remarks concerning Macedonia was "that the Macedonian people ought not to forget the great contribution of the Serbian people in affirmation of Macedonian nationality."

In connection with the recent statement of Vuk Draskovic that there will soon be a million deserters in Serbia, Dr. Kostic said "that he has an extremely high opinion of Mr. Draskovic as a man and writer, but his statements and political involvement at this moment are disastrous for the Serbian people."

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Izetbegovic Warns JNA Not To Attack Bosnia

NC2212172491 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish
19 Dec 91 p 13

[By Murat Yesil]

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency in the Yugoslav federation, in a special statement to our paper, said: "I do not think that the federal Army will attack Sarajevo. If, however, it does launch an attack, that will be the end of it. No one will ever mention the existence of a Yugoslav federal Army again."

President Izetbegovic said that there will be enormous bloodshed if the federal Army units which have massed on the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina—where Bosnian Muslims form the majority of the population—attack like they did in Slovenia and Croatia. "The Muslim population will defend its homeland to the last drop of blood," he said, adding "everyone should know this."

Izetbegovic was asked if measures have been taken to ensure that the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be able to defend itself against a prolonged attack. "Of course we are thinking of something. The civilian population will use all its power resisting the aggressors. We will also ask for help from all our friends abroad. Turkey comes first to mind."

Izetbegovic said that these plans are applicable only if the Army attacks, and he added: "However, I do not think the federal Army will attack Sarajevo. If logic prevails, the Army will never attack this town. The federal Army has left a very bad impression on world public opinion because of its attack on Croatia. They would not dare do the same thing here. If they do, it will be their undoing."

Bosnia Is Not an Easy Morsel

"Other regions of Yugoslavia cannot put up a fight against the federal Army. However, Bosnia is different. Here, the federal Army faces geographic obstacles and the problem of a Muslim population. It must overcome these two obstacles simultaneously, a difficult task," Izetbegovic said. He added that the generals, who don't agree with each other, well know that they will pay dearly if they try to attack the area.

Everyone should realize, the president continued, that no one can impose their wishes on anyone else. "The examples of Slovenia and Croatia are clear and the correct lessons must be learned," he said.

We Want a Peacekeeping Force

President Izetbegovic said that he wants the United Nations to send peacekeeping troops to his borders to prevent Bosnia-Herzegovina from turning into another Slovenia and Croatia. He said the population would be pleased if Turks were represented in the UN force. "If the Yugoslav Federation is maintained in its former form we will continue to occupy a place in it. However, we will never take part in a smaller Yugoslavia as proposed by Serbia. We, not Serbia, will decide where Bosnia-Herzegovina will stand."

Croatian Attack on Bosanska Gradiska Reported

LD2312203991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1932 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—Croatian paramilitary formations tonight staged a new artillery attack on a part of Bosanska Gradiska, TANJUG's newsman reported from the region in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One person was wounded while material damage was considerable.

Croatian paramilitary formations today again initiated clashes in the area between Bosanska Gradiska and Nova Gradiska, and this is the situation in the entire western Slavonian front, while artillery duels around Nova Gradiska, a city on the other bank of the Sava River in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, still continue.

According to information received in the Banja Luka Corps, in charge of this region, Croatian paramilitary formations tried breakthroughs to several sectors, while the attacks, as pointed out in the corps, were particularly strong north of Pakrac, north-east of Okucani and from Nova Gradiska.

Military sources cite that army units repelled all attacks without registering any losses.

Pointing to the fierceness of the clashes is the information that members of the UN preparatory mission for sending peace-keeping forces to Yugoslavia today abandoned touring the front and getting acquainted with the situation on the western Slavonian battleground. Members of the mission were only able to go as far as Stara Gradiska. They were unable to continue due to "strong activities of Croatian fighters", it was underscored in the Banja Luka Corps.

Trebinje Refugees Request JNA Withdrawal

AU2312132191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] From their meeting in Sarajevo today, the refugees from Eastern Herzegovina sent a letter to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) in which the following is stated:

We, the residents of Croatian villages in the Trebinje commune, are Bosnia-Herzegovina's only refugees. There were no ethnic conflicts, no weapons or explosive, in our area. The JNA and the Montenegrin reservists occupied us, settled into our houses, and chased us away from our homes. All this was done with the aim of ensuring a maximally effective siege of Dubrovnik.

Now that the front is more than 40 km away from our villages, we think it is in the political interest of the JNA as well as in the general interest of our country, that the Army immediately withdraws from our villages and houses. If necessary, a police force could be sent to this area, it is stated in the letter sent by the representatives of the refugees from the Croatian villages.

Serb, Croat Villages To Resist Violence

AU2312125091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Good news from Bosanski Brod. The villagers of the village of Dvoriste and Novo Selo this evening agreed they will not allow any provocations or organized attacks on Novo Selo, which is settled by Croatian population, or Dvoriste, populated by predominantly Serbian residents, by any side. The representatives of the two villages have obliged themselves to protect each other.

We will nip the destruction and killing in the bud together, and those who seek violence and destruction can go where they will be allowed to do it. This evil will pass, it is stated in the joint statement of the two villages that was today also carried by the Bosanski Brod Radio. [passage omitted]

Croatia**Renewed Fighting; Peace Talks Cancelled***LD2312204591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1908 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—Fighting was renewed almost all over the western Slavonian front, in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, at about 10 a.m. (0900 GMT) today, TANJUG's correspondent said, quoting military sources.

Croatian forces, according to military sources, attempted an infantry attack with tank support northwest from Okucani, about 140 kilometers east of Zagreb, but the attack was repelled.

Croatian radio, otherwise under censorship ordered by the Croatian president, has reported that the army and territorial defense members opened today mortar fire on Nova Gradiska. The radio said that five Croatian guardsmen and policemen were wounded in today's conflicts at the western Slavonia front.

TANJUG was informed today that tripartite talks between representatives of the Federal Army (JNA), the Croatian Government and the United Nations mission, scheduled for yesterday in Dalj (eastern Slavonia), were not held today either. Only the European Community representatives, mediators in the peace efforts in this area, appeared at the agreed venue.

It has been officially said that yesterday's meeting was cancelled because mines between Osijek and Nemetin were not removed, while there were no official reports on today's cancellation. In the area of Vinkovci and eastern Slavonia the situation was relatively calm today, TANJUG's correspondent was told by sources close to the Serbian territorial defense.

Croatian radio said that outside Osijek, a town in central Slavonia, it was calm today. No conflicts in that area were reported by military sources either.

According to reports from the battlefields in Krajina and Dalmatia, it was mostly calm there today.

The Croatian side has opened fire on the federal Army and the territorial defense positions 106 times since December 4, according to data by the Knin Corps information service.

Croatian radio reported yesterday that the last federal Army soldiers left a barracks in Dugo Selo, about twenty kilometers east of Zagreb. The barracks were taken over by Croatian forces, the radio said, claiming that the Army had pulled 160 tanks and armoured vehicles out of the barracks over the past few months.

Serb Krajina 'Republic' Seeks EC Recognition*LD2312221691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2124 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Knin, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—President of the unilaterally proclaimed Republic of Serb Krajina Milan Babic tonight sent an official request to the European Community (EC) Council of Ministers for recognizing the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The request, as announced, sent to the president of the EC Council of Ministers Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, sets out that the Republic of Serb Krajina—defined as a national state of Serb people and a state of all citizens who live in it—by the act of adopting the constitution from the constituent assembly, fulfills the basic condition for international recognition.

The contents of the request was made known to all EC members and other member states of the United Nations, which will receive the official request for international recognition of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Republic of Serb Krajina, unilaterally proclaimed on December 19, includes the Serbian Autonomous Region Krajina and Serbian region of Slavonia in Croatia, Baranja and Srem. The capital is Knin.

Serbian Region Joins Krajina 'Republic'*LD2312163691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Erdut, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem has joined the Republic of Serbian Krajina with the seat of government in Knin. Details regarding how the power will be organized in these two separated regions, have not yet been worked out, Goran Hadzic, president of the government of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, said in Erdut today.

The Serbian region, Hadzic added, will not be a district with special powers within the new republic. More details will emerge after the current talks with the president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Milan Babic.

"Previously, the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem was a part of Yugoslavia, and now it belongs primarily to the Republic of Serbian Krajina and only indirectly to the federation," Hadzic added.

This means that the Serbian region will not ask the EC for recognition, but the Republic of Serbian Krajina will ask the United Nations and all individual countries in the world, but not "the Twelve," to recognize it.

Discussing the borders of the Serbian region, Hadzic stressed that the old town of Osijek must belong to it, so that links can be established with Baranja.

Montenegro

Assembly Rejects EC Declaration on Recognition

LD2412054291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0137 GMT 24 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Titograd, December 23 (TANJUG)—Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro, southwestern Yugoslavia, decided this evening not to formulate a request for international recognition, considering that Montenegro acquired its sovereignty at the 1878 Berlin Congress. [passage omitted]

In the Montenegrin parliament's opinion, the Brussels declaration on recognizing Yugoslavia's Republics "deviates in essence from the EC and the conference on Yugoslavia principles defined in the beginning." In Montenegro it is "particularly difficult to accept not enough clearly defined conditions in the EC document for recognizing sovereignty of individual republics," it was concluded.

Parliament laid stress on its "unconditional request" for the political dialogue to continue in search for an integral settling of the Yugoslav crisis and gave priority to the efforts of the U.N. secretary general and his special emissary. A U.N. peace-keeping force should be sent to the crisis-hit areas as soon as possible, it was insisted.

Montenegro's parliament bases its stand on Montenegro's continuing sovereignty on the fact that Montenegro brought its sovereignty acquired at the Berlin Congress into Yugoslavia in 1918. [After] the World War Two [was] over, it transferred part of that sovereignty to the renewed state of Yugoslavia.

Foreign Minister Favors Association of Republics

AU2312201991 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Speaking in the Montenegrin Assembly this evening, Nikola Samardzic, minister of foreign affairs of Montenegro, stated that Montenegro should ask the EC not to recognize any of the Yugoslav republics by 15 January of next year if they do not accept some form of association of all republics. Taking part in the discussion at the extraordinary session of the Montenegrin Assembly, Samardzic stressed that this would contribute to solving the problem and at the same time return to the agenda the proposal by Lord Carrington of 18 October on a loose association of the Yugoslav republics.

Assembly Rejects Recognition of Serb Krajina

LD2312120991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly has started to consider the two EC declarations on recognition of new states and on Yugoslavia. At this historical session, as many see it, the Montenegrin Assembly is due to decide about the future state status of

this republic, that is, whether it will seek formal recognition, which the EC offered, or whether it will look for another form of statehood. Deputies rejected by majority vote a proposal tabled by the People's Party [Narodna Stranka] that the Assembly votes today to recognize the Republic of Serbian Krajina. According to Risto Vukcevic, the Montenegrin Assembly received the request, but no other state body or a political party have voiced views about this issue.

Serbia

Assembly Holds Session To Elect New Government

AU2312162291

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1604 GMT on 23 December carries a live relay of the Serbian Assembly session in Belgrade to elect a new government of Serbia.

Assembly President Aleksandar Bakocevic opens the session by saying that the only point on the agenda is the election of the president, vice president, and ministers of the government of the Republic of Serbia. He says that the session is also attended by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Borisav Jovic, Sejdo Bajramovic, and Jugoslav Kostic, Serbian members of the SFRY Presidency.

After explaining several procedural matters, Bakocevic asks the Assembly to vote on whether there should be five vice presidents as proposed by Prime Minister-designate Radoman Bozovic. This proposal is adopted with a majority vote.

Bakocevic then asks Radoman Bozovic to present his proposed cabinet and program.

Prime Minister-designate Radoman Bozovic begins his speech by saying that the government's aim is "the establishment of peace, the consentaneous political resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, and the complete prosperous development of our republic."

He goes on to say: "Taking into account the fundamental interests of our republic, it is essential to continue the program of setting up a complete efficient law governed state with political and economic rights for each of its citizens. Our environment is characterized by the break-up of the Yugoslav state through armed secession, state terror, the genocide of part of our people in part of the Yugoslav state, fierce political, economic, and military pressure by some European countries, a totally destroyed legal, political, and economic system of the Yugoslav state with the accompanying [sinteticki] consequences, war casualties, destruction, refugees, and 100,000 people with significant social problems."

After talking about Serbia's democratic and developmental potential, Bozovic says: "In its foreign activity,

the government will proceed from the necessity of protecting and promoting the vital national interests of the republic, all its citizens, and the Serbian people, which are seriously undermined by the escalation of the Yugoslav crisis, the open interference of foreign factors, and the denial of the existence of Yugoslavia. Relying on the continuity and international legal and political status of Yugoslavia and positive international norms and principles that are on the side of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and the Serbian people, the government will intensify political contacts with the most important and involved international organizations, forums, and bodies and expand contacts and cooperation with the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the influential and active nonaligned countries.

"It will support the strengthening role of the United Nations in resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis through peacekeeping operations and direct involvement in the current political and negotiation process. For the same reason, the government will advocate that priority in resolving the Yugoslav crisis be given to those forums of which Yugoslavia is member and on whose process of thinking and decisionmaking in connection with Yugoslavia it can have direct influence. Considering the complex geopolitical environment, the government will increase its attention to neighboring countries and by strengthening political contacts and the development of mutually-beneficial cooperation endeavor to positively influence as much as possible their attitude to the Yugoslav crisis and its denouement.

"Considering the very great extent that international activities depend on the present state of relations in Yugoslavia, successful foreign policy activity will greatly depend on our involvement in overcoming problems in relations with other Yugoslav republics and peoples which see Yugoslavia as their own country and on the success which we will have in this."

Bozovic then goes on to speak about developing cooperation with foreign countries to overcome the negative effects of discriminatory measures against Serbia.

He speaks in general terms about what the government intends to do in the economy and in the spheres of taxation, health, environment, and so forth. He attaches special importance to the need to develop the infrastructure and transform property relations, and promises that he will cut bureaucracy.

Bozovic proposes the following for the deputy prime ministers: Srboljub Vasovic, former director of Crvena Zastava car plant, currently president of the Kragujevac Communal Assembly; Dr. Zoran Arandjelovic, professor of the Faculty of Economics in Nis; Dr. Nebojsa Maljkovic; Jovan Zebic, current deputy prime minister; Nikola Sainovic, current minister for mining and energy. Bozovic also proposes that Zebic also be finance minister and Sainovic be minister for mining and energy.

Bozovic also proposes the following for the ministers:

Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic, defense minister;

Zoran Sokolic, minister for internal affairs;

Vladislav Jovanovic, minister for foreign affairs;

Srdjan Savic, minister for foreign economic relations and economic development;

Zoran Cetkovic, justice minister;

Jan (?Kizgeci), minister for agriculture, forestry, and water industry;

Velimir Mihajlovic, minister for industry;

Zarko Katic, minister for transportation and communications;

Uros Banjanin, minister for urbanism;

Savo Vlajkovic, minister for trade and tourism;

Branka Jesic, minister for labor, veterans issues, and welfare;

Dr. [word indistinct] Trajkovic, minister for science and technology;

Danilo Z. Markovic, education minister;

Miodrag Djukic, culture minister;

Dr. Nikola Mitrovic, health minister;

Dr. Pavle Todorovic, environment minister;

Dragan Kicanovic, minister for youth and sport;

Stanko Cvijan, minister for links with Serbs outside Serbia;

Dragan Dragojlovic, minister for religious matters;

Milivoje Pavlovic, information minister;

With this, Bozovic ends his speech.

Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, opens the debate on the proposed Serbian cabinet by criticizing Radoman Bozovic for not consulting the opposition on the composition of his cabinet. After criticizing the previous Serbian government, which was set up by the Socialist Party, he says that the prime minister-designate did not comment on the present situation and Serbia's current status.

Micunovic is followed by several opposition deputies, who mainly criticize the proposed cabinet for its omissions and the fact that the opposition was not consulted on it. Bozovic is also reproached for not having put forward a more specific government program.

Mirko Petrovic speaks next, saying that the proposed government program is too general and asks if anything is essentially being changed or if the new government only amounts to cadre changes.

Live coverage of the Serbian Assembly session ends at 1758 GMT.

Bozovic-Headed Government Elected

LD231221129: Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2033 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—In an open ballot this evening, the Assembly of Serbia elected a new government of the republic, led by Dr Radoman Bozovic. One hundred and forty-nine deputies gave a vote of confidence in the new government, 15 were against, and

26 abstained. In this way the government program, which had been explained by Dr Bozovic earlier, was also accepted.

Further Details of New Government

*LD2312224691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2209 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, December 23 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the largest Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Monday night approved the republic's new government, headed by Radoman Bozovic. The parliament approved 14 new members of Premier Bozovic's cabinet, while eleven members of the cabinet of former premier Dragutin Zelenovic retained their posts.

The key post of foreign minister was retained by Vladislav Jovanovic, while new defense minister is Lt-Gen. Marko Negovanovic. Gen. Negovanovic has so far held the post of assistant to the federal defense minister, General of the Army, Veljko Kadijevic.

The new Serbian government has five new vice-premiers.

Premier Zelenovic resigned on December 12. His government was the first after the multi-party elections, held in December 1990.

Putting forth his cabinet list, Bozovic has—noting that this was a government of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia which has also candidates belonging to no other parties—stated the readiness to cooperate with all deputy clubs.

Radoman Bozovic (38) has so far been premier of Serbia's northern Vojvodina Province.

This is Serbia's youngest government to date. Its average age is 41.

Opposition deputies at the parliament complained that the former premier Dragutin Zelenovic did not elaborate on his resignation and that they were not consulted about the composition of the new government.

FEC Asked To Scrap Anti-German Measures

*AU2312153691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] The Government of Serbia has asked the Federal Executive Council to reexamine and change its decision on introducing reciprocal measures against Germany in the sphere of transportation, considering that this decision in fact only refers to Serbia, that it inflicts damage to the vital interests of the republic, and adversely affects the business of many firms.

The organs of the Republic of Serbia will not be applying this decision of the Federal Executive Council. This was stated in a communique issued at a session of the Serbian Government.

Assembly Asked To Recognize Krajina 'Republic'

*LD2312145991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1459 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today proposed to the Serbian Assembly to recognize "the Republic of Serb Krajina." The government said its proposal relied upon the freely expressed will of Serbian people in "the Republic of Serb Krajina."

An announcement from the government session said that this proposal was aimed at establishing firm bonds and cooperation amongst the people of the two republics within one joint state.

Draskovic Congratulates Yeltsin on Commonwealth

*LD2312140691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 23 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO) Chairman Vuk Draskovic sent today a letter of congratulations to Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the occasion of laying the foundation of the new commonwealth of countries of the former Soviet Union. Draskovic congratulated him on his statesman-like wisdom and courage to end the agony of the former USSR. "You have sided with peace and not with war, with the Russian spirit and not with arms. You have lifted the heavy burden of the Bolshevik empire from the shoulders of the tired Russian nation. My joy over the victory of reason in that part of the world is clouded with sadness that there is no reason here," Vuk Draskovic says in his telegram.

Opposition Parties Agree on Local Cooperation

*LD2212171291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—Vladan Batic and Radomir Urosevic, representatives of the city committees of the Democratic Party (Demokratska stranka) and the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), signed an agreement on local cooperation and joint activity today in the Youth Club in Belgrade.

"This does not mean that we are either forming a political coalition or unifying our party programs, which only the main committees can decide. This amounts only to a coordination of our moves and the announcement of the cooperation which already exists at the level of Belgrade", Vladan Batic from the Democratic Party told journalists.

"Our aim is to achieve democracy and we think that we will achieve this by working together", Radomir Urosevic from the SPO said, adding "perhaps this move will force the leaderships of our parties to cooperate. This agreement is open to all truly democratic opposition parties", Urosevic stressed.

SPO Calls For Talks, Government With Parties
LD2312151991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—It is high time for representatives of deputy clubs and chairmen of parliamentary parties to have talks aimed at jointly finding the best solution. This is stated in a letter of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] to the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] deputies' club. The letter was also given to journalists. One of the tasks of a government formed through talks would be to prepare grounds for local elections and the elections for the constitutive assembly. You have the opportunity to help Serbia. It is up to you whether Serbia will embark on the path of democracy or whether conflicts will spread, the letter stresses and adds: Now you have the opportunity to prevent interparty conflicts for the sake of the Serbian people and to halt the 50-year long destruction of the Serbian nation. The solution is simple if you are aware of the situation in which we find ourselves. This is stated in the SPO letter to the SPS deputies' club. The letter is signed by Milenko Radic, member of the SPO Presidium.

POLITIKA Notes Opposition's Internal Divisions
92BA0261D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
13 Dec 91 p 6

[Unattributed article: "What Is Happening With the Serbian Opposition"]

[Text] What has actually been happening with the Serbian opposition? From the flood of press releases prepared as though by directive in the offices of the party chiefs and their collaborators, there is not even a hint of what the opposition is offering us in these difficult times except rhetoric about Slobodan Milosevic and the "regime which is oppressing us." Information is leaking out concerning internal reorganization, disagreement, and even divisions, which are commonplace in the Serbian opposition, as in fact they also are in the party in power. Nevertheless, in recent days, following a certain lull, the opposition scene seems to have come to life. At one and the same time, minimal democratization seems to have occurred in "our democratic parties," and some things have become clearer.

Let us go in order, beginning with the Democratic Party [DS].

Leaders of the Democrats

There has long been talk about a division in this party into Micunovic's moderate wing and Kostunica's more radical current, but the split became public in the main committee in Vrnjacka Banja when the president of the party even demanded that those present vote for or against confidence in him. Later, on the rostrum in the Youth Center in Belgrade, instead of the president of the Democratic Party, who had been invited, only Vojislav Kostunica, vice president, also invited, was present. Nor

was there anything unusual in that if the public had not addressed harsh criticism to the chief of the Democrats, which did not disturb the vice president at all, nor did it occur to him to respond to those cannonades. Some people have long felt that Micunovic takes a mild position toward the "ruling regime" and is ready sometimes to make concessions. His wing, which has adherents among the leaders of the DS, is not stepping away from the parliamentary struggle and opposes any very radical solution such as collective resignation, which Kostunica has publicly favored. The powder keg was ignited when Micunovic consented to be a member of the managing board of Television Belgrade, explaining that he intended to remain on it until it turned out that it was impossible to do anything. At the same time, Slobodan Raketec, chief of the deputies of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], refused the invitation, because otherwise "the whole story of 9 March and the present demands of the opposition would come to naught."

The informal coalition of the Serbian Renewal Movement and the more radical wing of the Democrats ensued quite expectedly. Because Kostunica and Vuk have frequently made joint appearances, no essential difference in political positions has even been noticed. Along with the Serbian Liberal Party [SLS], which split off from the Democrats immediately before the December elections with essentially similar objections, this could be the core of a more radical unified opposition. More radical only toward the present government, which in their statements is proclaimed to be the sole cause and consequence of all the Serbian people's misfortune.

The Antiwar SPO

Meanwhile, in his antiwar statements and as an advocate of negotiations even "at any price," Vuk has given a direction to his movement, which has been abandoned by the more extreme wing, which has found a niche in Seselj's Serbian Radical Party [SRS]. The decline of followers of the SPO, recorded by recent public opinion surveys, may be temporary. The movement might be joined any day by the wavering members of the Democratic Party and indeed even disappointed reformists. What is more, there is also an entire army of young people who have been sent draft notices, and they might like Vuk's most recent argument about "what is the heart of Serbia and what is the circulatory system" and who in that structure is supposed to serve whom.

In all of this, the Reformists have quieted down with their press releases, which until recently were issued daily. They blame that on the "hooligan parties" which broke their "equipment"—the fax machine. But they do not mention that Ivan Djuric, their president, went off to "Paris for an indefinite period." Djuric, from a place inaccessible to mailmen carrying a draft notice, is giving interviews to anyone who needs one at this point, while his membership is slipping away on all sides. But even while he was in Belgrade, Djuric held against certain "rightwing Reformers" their participation in the campaign to bring the prince to Yugoslavia, among other things.

The issue of the prince is the most conspiratorial part of our democratic opposition. It is nevertheless clear that the SPO, the Kostunica wing of the Democrats, the SLS, and even the NSS [Serbian People's Party] would like the crown prince to move to Belgrade as soon as possible. But it seems that the prince in London is still unable to decide in favor of that step.

Then there are also the parties and partylets that are outside the parliament. Seselj's is gaining new adherents in this time of war. Although a recent survey showed that young people facing the consequences of the showdown have flinched from his ideas, which are above all clear and loud.

To be sure, it is not easy to be in the opposition at a time when everything is concentrated on national hegemonization. War is not a time for any kind of democracy. It is conceived for peacetime, when reports from the front, accompanied by the constant flyover of military helicopters, do not provide reminders that only questions of life or death are really circulating. This should also be borne in mind when we reproach the opposition for having built its survival on criticism of the present government and less and less on their independent program. But there is no way at all to explain why our democratic parties have copied their mode of operation from the totalitarian regime. It comes down to issuing press releases from closed meetings in which they mainly use the fax machine to come down on that same regime day after day.

[Box, p 6]

Draskovic in London

We have been unofficially informed that a delegation of the opposition headed by Vuk Draskovic is traveling to London today in order to meet once again with the crown prince and deliver him an invitation (the umpteenth) to return to the homeland once and for all. In a telephone conversation with Vuk Draskovic, SPO president, he confirmed to us that he is traveling to London today, but on the invitation of the Foreign Policy Committee of the British Parliament.

"I still have not managed to inform Prince Aleksandar of this, and I do not know whether we will have time to meet with him."

It is true, Draskovic adds, that Kostunica is also paying a very brief private visit to London.

Commentary Examines Recognition Consequences

AU2312163491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Dragan Stavljanin commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The possible recognition, above all of Croatia, by the majority of European countries would—something that cannot be clearly seen at the moment—lead Serbia to a situation perhaps even more uncertain than in 1914-15 when the members of the Great Entente, France

and particularly Great Britain, exerted pressure on our republic [as heard] to renounce Macedonia to the benefit of the then-neutral Bulgaria to have it join the allies. At that time, Serbia did not accept the ultimatum. If the majority of the international community recognized Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Croatia now, the sovereignty of Yugoslavia would be considerably shaken. Then, the presence of the Yugoslav People's Army on the territory of then already sovereign Croatia with a view to protecting the Serbian population would be treated by international factors as interference into another country's internal affairs.

Serbia and the truncated Yugoslavia would be in a position to either leave the Serbian population to the mercy of the Croatian authorities or to wage a war with, in that case, considerable challenges and uncertainties. Of course, this is one of the most unfavorable variants of the state of the Yugoslav crisis. The stand of the EC Council of Ministers on recognizing Yugoslav republics after 15 January under certain conditions are, to say the least, contradictory. On the one hand, it is said that one will recognize those republics that want to be recognized, while the condition demanded of the others to be recognized is to agree to the continuation of the peace conference on Yugoslavia.

If some republics are granted international recognition, then their participation in a kind of a peace conference can be motivated only by a separation account [deobni bilans]. If some republics are granted the status of international subjects, that would make them even less interested in forming a loose association. Moreover, the said declaration points out that change of borders is possible, albeit only through agreement and in a peaceful way. However, is it realistic and responsible to ask of already internationally recognized states to agree so quickly to the change of their borders at the expense of their territories. Moreover, according to international criteria, a country should meet three conditions to achieve sovereignty: power [vlast], people, and territory. Croatia, however, has no power over one-third of its territory, and the local Serbian population does not want to live in a sovereign Croatia.

All these uncertainties confirm the fact that the declaration of the European Twelve is in fact a compromise between different views and interests. Serbia cannot agree to such demands for several reasons: The direct or indirect recognition of the republics after all brings Yugoslavia's status of an international subject into question. Besides, if Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina become sovereign within present borders, this negates the will of the Serbian people in these two republics to remain in Yugoslavia which they expressed in a referendum. This also reduces the local Serbs to a national minority.

In this author's opinion, the variant of the international recognition of the Yugoslav republics [words indistinct] only under the condition that Serbian regions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina separate themselves from the sovereignty of these two republics. The EC intention to recognize Yugoslav republics is certainly acceptable to Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and the Muslim-Croatian

part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because it grants them a state and international sovereignty that they have never had. However, in the case of Serbia, this variant means not only a step backward in comparison with the Hague documents, but, in the national and state sense a return to a status perhaps even worse than the one that existed before Yugoslavia was created.

What can and must Serbia do in such a situation? First, we should stop moaning about the behavior of the EC and particularly the German-Vatican coalition. In this way we are wasting energy in an uneconomical way and the criticism of Europe in such a way that, in Europe's view, tells more about our powerlessness than principledness. We do not have to be the only ones to defend Europe from, as some people say, revived fascism. Let Europe first do that itself. The interests of others are as they are, and we can change almost nothing there, but, bearing such tendencies in mind, we can at least try to establish our interests in such a way that they are realized to the greatest extent with as little risk as possible.

It is high time Serbia started replacing its defensive policy with an offensive one, because almost all its gestures, particularly the ones made this year, represented a kind of an answer to a move made by the rival side, and every next step made the situation worse and worse.

One of the indispensable conditions for taking up a more active position is a long-term assessment of the processes and the balance of power in the world and in our country. Besides, our diplomatic activity that is under way should be intensified even more by including our prominent public personalities who enjoy respect in the world.

In this respect, one needs to hold talks above all with the countries who harbor reservations about the urgent recognition of Yugoslav republics, but one should open a dialogue with Germany, too.

Although the world has been well informed about the situation in Yugoslavia, it is necessary for Serbia to present its arguments and interests again, to show goodwill and to point to the complicated nature of our situation. Namely, recognizing Yugoslav republics without sorting out controversial issues leads to a war of extermination.

Moreover, Serbia must also point to the fact that it entered Yugoslavia together with the present territories of Serbia proper, Kosovo, a part of Metohija, and Macedonia. Before the unification, it was joined by Vojvodina, which also included Baranja which is now in Croatia.

Because it is almost impossible to expect Macedonia to be part of a possible independent Serbia, what would happen in case of the international recognition of the republics is that Serbia would have a smaller territory than before Yugoslavia was created. This would be nonsense and injustice. If Europe absolutely wants to rearrange Yugoslavia at this moment, then it must take this fact into consideration.

Regarding the conditions for the recognition of the republics planned by the EC, one should insist on the practical implementation of these principles. One should also insist that Serbia must do everything with a view to having the blue helmets come as soon as possible and to having the peace conference on Yugoslavia continue.

Regarding the internal political plane, it would be necessary to renew the attempt to negotiate with Macedonians and Muslims. All in all, challenges are ahead of us. However, much can be done through resoluteness, wisdom, and realism because chances of solution increase with the increase of danger.

Hard Currency Sales Policy Prompts 'Mad Race'

LD2312125591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1226 GMT 23 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 23 (TANJUG)—Business banks in Serbia late last week started to purchase hard currency from citizens at a rate of exchange which is about 285 percent higher than the official one for hard currency purchased from foreign currency savings and around 438 percent higher for cash. The Belgrade bank Beobanka, for instance, is purchasing one German mark for 50 dinars from savings accounts and for 70 dinars for cash, instead of the official rate of exchange of 13 dinars for one German mark.

This move by business banks in Serbia is a result of a majority vote in the Assembly of Serbia last week in favour of a proposal submitted by two opposition deputies. Under the new law, business banks are allowed legally to sell hard currency at the market rate of exchange.

At a recent symposium organized by the National Bank of Serbia, economists reacted differently to this law. Some applauded it, while others said that their factories would soon stop operation because they would not be able to stay in the race with the new official hard currency policy. Reports from the black market in the Belgrade press today show that the market reacted quickly to the bigger quantities of dinars in the pockets of citizens with hard currency savings.

Yesterday morning, black marketeers demanded 100 dinars for one German mark, which confirms that a "mad" race of exchange rates is in store.

Kosovo Economic Development, Security Viewed

92BA0261B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Dec 91 p 6

[Unattributed article: "The Pilferage of Socialized Property Has Been Stopped"]

[Text] The results of business operations in all sectors of the economy in Kosovo and Metohija are considerably below the average for Serbia: This was the assessment yesterday in a meeting of the government of the Republic of Serbia. The press release given to TANJUG states that in a meeting chaired by Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic, the

government took up current and strategic problems of organizing branches of the government of the Republic of Serbia, economic development, and the political-security situation in the region of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. Representatives of Kosovo and Metohija also took part in the work of the meeting.

Organization of the branches of the government of the Republic of Serbia in this part of its territory was established on behalf of more effective performance of government functions, the work process, and suppression of separatism. The government's activity from certain points in Kosovo and Metohija will make it possible to conduct surveillance, inspection, and other functions legally. Even the Secretariat for Development of the Underdeveloped Opstinas of Serbia will be located in Kosovo and Metohija.

The assessment is that problems are now acute in the creation of jobs, social welfare policy, and demographic policy, that there is a shortage of trained personnel, and that the educational system is also obstructed. It is the assessment of the government that the situation would be far more difficult if temporary measures had not been taken in many collectives. All forms of unlawful appropriation of property have been prevented to a good extent in this way. Work discipline and technological discipline have been ensured to a higher degree, and in a number of enterprises production has been resumed, equipment and installations have been repaired, and financial documentation has been put in order. These measures have halted the drastic adverse trends and possible consequences of even the most aggressive manifestation of the Albanian separatists.

Emphasis was put on the need to establish economic ties in the republic, especially those forms in which owners regroup property relations. Some enterprises in Kosovo and Metohija have integrated with enterprises in Serbia, some mergers are now taking place, and quite a few projects have been prepared for the placement of capital in Kosovo enterprises through holding companies. Bankruptcy has been envisaged for enterprises that have no future.

Similar activities are evident in other sectors as well, and this is already yielding definite results in culture. The uniform system of education is now being reestablished for the entire republic. The meeting took up separately the political-security situation and operation of the separatist alternative in the province, the press release stated.

Slovenia

Assembly Adopts Proposed New Consitution AU2312155291

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene at 1515 GMT on 23 December begins a live relay from the Slovene Assembly chambers where the members

are voting on the new Slovene constitution. The correspondent concludes the live relay at 1536 GMT by saying that the proposed new Slovene constitution was passed with a two-thirds majority by all three Assembly Chambers.

Recognition Prospects, Italian Investment Viewed 92BA0249A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Dec 91 p 4

[Article by Bogo Samsa: "Italy Strengthens Economic Cooperation With the Republic of Slovenia"]

[Text] It seems that the competent offices are preparing for recognition of the Republic of Slovenia; possibilities for investment of Italian capital; adjustment of the Osimo accords.

Ljubljana, 8 Dec—The competent offices are preparing for the official declaration of Slovenia to be a sovereign and independent state. This can be seen from numerous official statements by foreign ministers and prime ministers, and especially our two large EC partners, Italy and Germany, which have obviously already decided to recognize Slovenia and Croatia officially. There only exists a doubt that is exclusively of a foreign policy nature. Recognition is supposed to be officially announced on 16 December, when this subject will be discussed by the EC. What will Germany and Italy do if everyone except them is opposed, and especially the "giants," the United States and the Soviet Union?

This question, this doubt, of course exists, but all the concrete signs indicate something completely different. There are many small specific things that indicate consulates being turned into embassies. In the case of Germany, the formal consulate that has not even been established is already being turned into an embassy. This has to do with minor regulations, registration plates, various types of communications—in short, everything that is characteristic of an internationally recognized embassy in accordance with its internal arrangement. There is also the protocol according to which Slovenia, as a sovereign republic, has already been visited by Cossiga when he met with President Kucan in Nova Gorica, or the German protocol, according to which Kucan was received as president of the republic.

At present, a whole series of activities are under way that are all heading in the same direction: strengthening economic and other ties with the Republic of Slovenia, and especially aid, so that it will be able not only to become independent economically as soon as possible, but will also become stronger and become an important political, cultural, and especially economic partner.

In connection with this, there have recently been several government-level meetings in Ljubljana, and among them, in particular, a technically oriented one at the level of the assistant foreign ministers of Slovenia and Italy, and the signing of a protocol on cooperation among the Alps-Adriatic border countries.

From all of this, we can separate out several interesting and important specific questions, which include:

—SACE, the Italian state institution which provides guarantees for export deals. SACE was the first to open a line of credit for independent Slovenia, while the war in it was still going on, and thus, as early as August, it made possible almost uninterrupted trade between Italy and Slovenia. Now, that guarantee has been increased by an additional 24 billion lire, making new lines of credit available to Ljubljana Bank. This will not exhaust the possibilities for loans; on the contrary, new expert talks on specific issues will follow.

—the Osimo roads. The discussion has covered primarily the "branches" which have already been mentioned so many times, i.e., the extension of the highway from Razdrto to Nova Gorica and to Sezana. Currently they are building, or rather completing, the section from Razdrto to Senožece. They will keep the construction site, in order to permit an immediate continuation of construction work. They will finally be able to settle the whole issue, however, when Slovenia becomes a sovereign state. At that time they will settle the problems of financing, and they expect the construction of both routes to be speeded up.

This issue is actually more complex, since the planned road is only a section of the future highway that will link Trieste, Ljubljana, and Celje with Budapest, and that will consequently solve a substantial part of the Slovene highway crisis. The Italian Transportation Ministry is intensively negotiating with its Slovene partners on this, and since the Ministry is headed by the well-known former president of the Venetian state Bernini, we can expect that things will go forward very quickly. Of course, Slovene sovereignty is also the first condition for these specific solutions.

It is also necessary to finally settle several other issues associated with financing the modernization of the Videm paper mill in Krsko, which was carried out with the aid of loans from the former Mikulic-Goria agreement, which have now come due.

Italy has already represented Slovenia's interests in the EC's negotiations regarding the blockade which was announced for all of the former Yugoslavia. There are also several unresolved issues which are less important.

The Osimo accords will require detailed talks by both states. It is true, to be sure, that the states recognize those agreements, especially with respect to the designation of the state border, which is not in dispute. Perhaps they will exchange notes, but perhaps even that is not necessary. The accords will have to be adapted to reality, which will mean renewed talks on protection of both minorities, and on ecological and other issues.

The Italians have offered the Adria-Airways airline specific proposals to have the Italian airline, Alitalia, step in

during the intermediate period while Belgrade's ban on flights is in effect. These talks have already been held or will be soon. Of course, it is specific, but at the same time it is also just a proposal for settling an issue that is extremely complicated, technically and economically.

In parallel with this, there are several similar conclusions, programs, and obligations in the agreement on cooperation among the Alps-Adriatic countries or states. This document is interesting, and would be worth more detailed analysis.

Finally, participation by Slovenia and Croatia in the former Pentagonal is already on the agenda. In Venice, Yugoslavia was already no longer present, and consequently the Pentagonal or Hexagonal was renamed as the Initiative of European Central States, or Central European states. The Italian consuls general in Ljubljana and Zagreb have received instructions to inform the Slovene and Croatian public about that initiative in more detail, which actually means the participation of these two states in the interesting initiative.

With all of this positive enumeration, we should not forget a serious obstacle: the green cards, which the Italian authorities no longer consider valid, and for which there is still no real solution. Currently, matters are being "settled" in a crude pragmatic way, by having Belgrade's guarantees taken into account for various procedures. Actually, firm Slovene guarantees should be introduced—bank guarantees, if nothing else—since the Belgrade guarantees will finally disappear with Slovenia's recognition. The system with Austria is different in principle, since Austria has introduced the bilateral system of guarantees that will be characteristic of all of Europe, whereas in the Italian case the green card system still strictly applies. The current short-term solutions are not good, because they only set aside the problem, which in principle is the problem of firm guarantees.

This whole group of problems also includes two others that are very specific and are crucial for Slovenia. All of the above is creating opportunities for a secure, uninterrupted economic cooperation, which means in particular opening up possibilities for the investment of Italian capital in Slovene enterprises. Conditions are good, since the very high-quality and capable work force is relatively cheap; there is likewise already a Slovene economic potential at a relatively enviable technological and particularly personnel level. On the other hand, there is extensive capital available for quality investments, and also state assistance from the funds provided by the law on border cooperation and other state and parastatal loans. That is why in the coming days and weeks we can expect several visits by entrepreneurs at various levels, and these should be visits and conferences agreed upon at the state level in Rome or other levels. This may be the beginning of a real investment cycle that will be strictly and consistently economically justified.